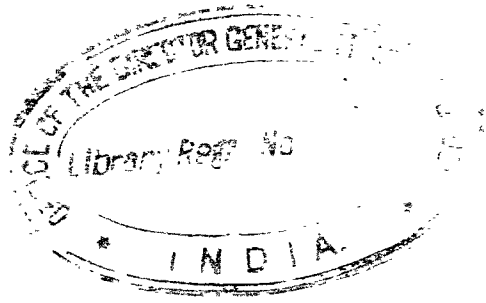
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VOLUME VIII: 1922-1923.

EDITED BY

J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired)

AND

JOHN M. SENAVERATNA, F.R.H.S.

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The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register.

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1922-1923.

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MAHÁ SAMAN DÉVÁLÉ.



SCULPTURED SLAB.

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and

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THE SAMAN DÉVÁLE INSCRIPTION.

By Rev. S. G. Perera, S.J.

"LET into a deep niche in the basement of the raised quadrangle" of the Sabaragamuwa Maha Saman Dévále is a sculptured slab depicting in bold relief a Portuguese standing over a prostrate foe. Below it is an inscription which Skeen[1] thought to be "partly in Roman and partly in Sinhalese characters." The inscription is pure Portuguese, in clear and unmistakable Roman letters. The late Mr. Ferguson deciphered it as follows (*Journal* R. A. S. XVI) :[2]

"COM ESTA[3] RENDI ESTE[4] HA 23 (?)[5] ANNOS QVE ANDO NA INDIA E HA 15 (?)[5] QVE SIRVO DE CAPITAO E TAOQVE[6] OS REIS....DE.... E O REI DE IAFANAPATAO EV SIMAO PINHAO O VENCI	"With this (sword) I overcame this (man), it being 23 (?) years that I have been in India, and 15 (?) that I have served as Captain; and as soon as (?) the kings and the king of Jafanapatam, I Simaõ Pinhaõ conquered him."

Skeen read the first five letters (COM ES) as Gomes,[7] which showed "that the name of the Portuguese soldier was Gomes."

1. *Adam's Peak*, 125-6.
2. See Plate 1.
3. Scil. *espada*
4. Scil. *homem*
5. Conjectural
6. Or *ao que*
7. Strangely enough a Gomez (Manoel) was one of the "apostate rebels" defeated by Pinhaõ. Queyroz, *Conq.* 453.

Regarding the prostrate figure Skeen wrote : " The Sinhalese say, the prostrate warrior was their champion, one Kuruwita Bandára." This Kuruwita Bandára is the well-known Antonio Barreto, " King " of Uva ; but he had no personal encounter with Pinhaõ. The manner of his death is described by Queyroz,[8] and the glowing romance in the *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register* (VI. 98-99), is devoid of historical foundation.

With his customary caution Ferguson did not solve the question : ' Who was the foe whom Simaõ Pinhaõ overcame.' " We have no certain data," he wrote, "from which to draw our conclusion and are relegated to the region of hypothesis."

Dr. P. E. Pieris first held that the tablet " commemorates the death of Barreto, who is known among the Sinhalese as Kuruwita Bandára " (Ribeiro's *Ceilao*, 207) ; but in 1909 he wrote in the Introduction to the second edition : " The footnote on page 207 is incorrect, as the Saman Dévále tablet commemorates the death, not of Barreto, but of Ratnáyaka Mudianse." In the *Portuguese Era* the slab is reproduced over the legend " Pinhaõ and Ratneka Mudianse," with a note on page 586 to say that " Ferguson was mistaken as to the identity of the Sinhalese warrior whose name is still remembered in local tradition." This Ratnáyaka Mudianse is not known to have had a single combat with Pinhaõ.

Mr. H. C. P. Bell seems to have had a glimpse of the true significance of the tablet when he wrote [9] that Pinhaõ " by the record on the slab, claimed to have conquered the King of Jafanapatao." But he was incredulous as no Portuguese writer has recorded the exploit, regarding which " passing strange if true—the historians are silent."

The Hon. Mr. H. W. Codrington, however, had come independently to the conclusion, at which I had arrived, that the exploit depicted on the slab is the incident in the lives of Pinhaõ and the King of Jaffna thus narrated by Queyroz : [10]

8. " One of his followers, carried away by ambition rather than by friendship, gave orders to a company of lascarins to go and sack it (the village in which Barreto kept his treasures) and kill all who resisted. They did not know that he was there. They found him ill in bed, and he did not disclose himself, being the first they fell upon, and he was beheaded with all his family. When they recognised him they would have liked to kill themselves for they loved him to excess, and looked upon him as the liberator of their country." Queyroz, *Conq.* 509.

9. *C.A. & L.R.* II. 39.

10. *Conq.* 367. A free translation of the passage is embodied into the *Portuguese Era*, I, 256-7.

Ja pellas dez de dia, marcharaõ para Nelûr, e entre os dous Pagodes acharaõ grande multidaõ de rodeleyros e de piques de Atapata do Rey, conjurados a morrerẽ, ou desbaratarẽ os nossos. Brigaraõ amoucos grande espaço e com tanta resoluçao como quem corria para a morte; e ali acabaraõ todos, com o Bragmane grande do Pagode e hũ Jogue que os animava. Gritou o Prinçepe mais moço, Hendarmana Cinga Cumara, Irmaõ do morto na tranqueyra, que o nao matassẽ, por que era filho do Rey Piriapule, acudio lhe Simaõ Pinhaõ, põdo se diante dele; a tempo que ja tinha as orelhas rotas, puxando lhe pollas arrecadas, e duas lançadas em hum pê e no ventre; e cahindo de bruços, lhe poz o Pinhaõ hum pê nas costas, pelo defender; o que lhe naõ custou tao pouco que nao recebesse duas feridas, no rosto e em hum maõ. Chegou o Capitaõ Mor, e Simaõ Pinhaõ levantando o Principe lhe entregou."

"By ten o'clock in the morning[11] they[12] marched towards Nallur, and between the two temples they encountered a large multitude of targe-bearers and pikemen of the King's Atapattu (guard), sworn to die or repel our men. They fought madly [13] for a long while with such determination that they seemed to court death; and there they all fell, including the chief Brahamin of the temple, and a Yogi who encouraged them. The younger Prince, Hendarmana[14] Singa Kumára, brother of the one killed in the *tranqueyra*, cried out not to kill him as he was the son of King Piriyapulle.[15] Simaõ Pinhaõ running to his aid, placed himself in front of him. By that time he had his ears torn, being pulled about for the earrings, and had received two lance wounds, one in the foot and the other in the belly; and as he fell headlong Pinhaõ placed his foot on him to protect him, which cost him not a little, for he received two wounds, on the face and on the hand The Captain Mor arrived, and Simaõ Pinhaõ, raising up the Prince, delivered him over."

This Prince was afterwards proclaimed King by Furtado under the name of Jara Chagara (Pararasa-Sekaran), and "as long as he lived he was most faithful to the King of Portugal and grateful to Simaõ Pinhaõ, who received from him gifts and favours for rescuing him from death."[16]

11. 28 October, 1691.
12. The Portuguese under Andre Furtado de Mendonça.
13. *Amouços, amouchi*, of the Portuguese writers is the same, in derivation and meaning as "*a-muck*" in the phrase "running a-muck"
14. Father S. Gnana Prakasar, O.M.I., thinks that this represents Edirmânna Singa. (எதிர்மன்ன சிங்க)
15. Peria Pillai *alias* Raja Rajan Dasen Raja Sekaran (Chekara Sekaran) about whom see Father Gnana Prakasar's "*Kings of Jaffna.*" Mr. Codrington has pointed out that the Jaffna Kings seem to have used *Pararaja-sekhara* and *Jagaraja-sekharan* alternatively.
16. *Cong.* 369. The King again refers to Pinhao, p 373.

This is the scene commemorated in the slab. Of course he was not King when Pinhaõ placed his foot on him; nor is the incident a victory in single combat as the slab suggests, though Pinhaõ is represented brandishing his sword, not against the prostrate figure, but against a foe in front of him. However, we must not expect historical accuracy in a memorial tablet. The slab is evidently the work of Pinhaõ's admirers, who considered this incident *the* event in Pinhaõ's life.

The inscription, deciphered with the kind assistance of Mr. Codrington, reads as follows:

(The letters marked ∧ are conjoined).

COM ESTÂ-RENDI-ESTÊ-HÂ-23-ANÑOS-Q
ANÎDO NÂ INÎDIA-E ĤA-16-QVÊ-SIRVO-DE CA
PITAO-E-AO QVÊ OS PEIS VÊDES HÊ[17] O REI
DE IAFANÂPATÂO EV SIMÁN PINÑĤAO O VÊNC(I)

Com esta (espada) rendi este (hom^m). Ha 23 annos que
ando na India, e ha 16 que sirvo de Capitao,
e ao que os peis vedes he o rei de Jafanapatao.
Eu Simao Pinhao o venci.

"With this (sword) I overcame this (man), and it is 23 years that I am in India, and 16 that I serve as Captain, and he whom at (the) my feet you see is the King of Jafanapatam. I Siman Pinhaõ vanquished him."

* * * * *

In 1909 Father F. d'Espierres, S.J., formerly of the Galle Diocese, photographed the inscription and sent it to Spain where it was translated as follows: [18]

"*Avec celle-ci* (*c. a. d. mon épée*) *j'ai vaincu celui-ci. Il y a* 23 *ans que je parcourrs l'Inde, et il y en a* 16 *que je fais fonction de Capitaine ;et celui qu'à mes pieds vous voyez ,c'est le roi du Jafanapatam. Moi, Simon Pinhao J'ai fait cela.*"

The translator evidently thought that Pinhaõ was "le sculpteur de la pierre."

Mr. Ferguson has already published all the information about Pinhaõ available at the time. Father Queyroz sketches his career fully in the *Conquista*. The following description of his person is as interesting as it is characteristic of the style of Queyroz:—

"As this honoured Portuguese was celebrated in that age for this,[19] as well as for the many other things he did, I shall give

17. I read this as H. but Mr. Codrington, after a more careful examination of the slab, pronounced it to be T. "The stroke on the top is clear, and to the touch there is nothing between the vertical and the first line of E." The Museum ought to get a careful estampage of the inscription.

18. This information was placed in my hands while I was busy with this paper.

19. Rejection of Vimala Dharma's tempting solicitations to come over to him.

here an account of his country and person. He was a native of Punhete, stout of body and of great strength, tempered in the waters of the Tagus and the Zerzee.

"He was at the time [20] about forty years of age, round and coarse of face, more of a soldier than a courtier. He lacked one eye, of which he was deprived by a blow of an *azagaya*. He had a long nose, and flowing nutbrown beard, mustaches short and drooping, (it would seem he did not tire himself curling them upwards [21] with irons, nor did he live in these days of tobaco and shaven chins which are so much the fashion as to banish from men's faces that authorised distinction which nature has placed between the sexes, and which was wont to be cut at all only out of penance, or as a distinctive mark of the sacerdotal state; and luxury is striking such deep roots that like the Roman Emperors, on whose statues there is seen no sign whatever of a beard, they even pluck them out).

"He was capable of great exertion and slept little, a thing which Henry IV, King of France, used to consider so worthy of a Captain that he flattered himself that he excelled the Duke of Parma, Alexander Farnese, because he slept one hour less; and of the Portuguese in India we know that Antonio Pinto da Fonseca, formerly Captain in Flanders, and afterwards of Malaca, when the King nominated him Governor of India, though he was 90 years old, slept very little, and always with the sword at the girdle.

"Pinhaõ was of a spirit so undaunted that there was nothing which seemed to him difficult to carry out by force of arms; and indeed he was ever fortunate.[22] Generous to those who aided him in peace and war, a lover of ambuscades, a peculiar feature of Ceylon warfare, he spoke little and achieved much; and as he was little given to merriment he was dreadful when aroused. He was above all a good Christian, free from sensual vice." [23]

Pinhao married a Sinhalese Princess of Sítávaka, the "heiress of Rája Sinha," and sister of Nikapitiya Adahasin, by name Dona Maria, who survived her husband.[24] Pinhaõ died before April, 1609, [25] presumably in "Sofregao" of which he was made Disáva for the second time [26] in 1605.

20. In 1602.
21. "*se nao cansava em os levantar a ferro.*"
22. Azavedo used to say that Pinhaõ had all the luck. *Conq.* 453
23. *Conq.* 460-1.
24. *Ib.* 387. *Journal*, XVI, 102
25. *Conq.* 497. 26. *Ib.* 496.

SIR AMBROSE HARDINGE GIFFARD, CHIEF JUSTICE OF CEYLON.

By J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired).

IT would seem that Chief Justice Sir Hardinge Giffard's chief title to a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography* is his classical and literary attainments; for in that work his biographer, Mr. G. Barnett Smith, says nothing of his legal career, or achievements, beyond the mere chronicle of his appointments in Ceylon. But as to the former he remarks: "His leisure was devoted to literature, and a selection of his poems was published at Ceylon about 1822. Specimens are reproduced in the *Traditions and Recollections* of the Rev. J. Polwhele." Here his biographer has made two slight errors: The book mentioned is by the Rev. R (ichard), not 'J' Polwhele, and that gentleman reproduces in his work, not 'several,' but one specimen, of Giffard's poems.

Sir Hardinge's modest little book was printed at the Wesleyan Mission Press, Colombo, and bears no date; but from internal evidence the date must have been *circa* 1822. He sent a copy of it to Mr. Polwhele, and in a letter which the latter received in January, 1824, says: "Allow me to offer you a collection of my verses, which I had lately printed by the Wesleyan Missionaries (our only printers here)," and he proceeds to give the Wesleyan Mission a certificate of good behaviour which its present representatives will no doubt appreciate: "These people are quiet; prompt in forwarding education; and do not disturb us by any extravagance."

Mr. Polwhele made a note, also in a letter, of the receipt of the booklet: "I have just received from Sir Hardinge Giffard, a little volume of Poems, thus inscribed, 'To the Rev. Richard Polwhele, as a token of the highest esteem and respect for his talents and character, this collection is offered by Hardinge Giffard, Colombo, August 19, 1823.'"

Sir Hardinge also sent a copy to Mrs. Croker, wife, I suppose, of the Right Hon'ble Mr. J. W. Croker whom Lord Macaulay castigates with much severity in one of his essays. This is the copy now

in the British Museum Library. It is inscribed, in Sir Hardinge Giffard's own handwriting, as follows :—

" To Mrs. Croker
in grateful recollection of her kindness, from
Hardinge Giffard,
Colombo, July 20, 1822."

We may take it, therefore, that the book was published in that year. One of its poems, the last in fact, is dated " 22 July, 1821."

This copy has no title page—the book seems to have been published without one—and is headed simply " Verses," and at the end has the words " Printed at the Wesleyan Mission Press." I do not think there is a copy in the Colombo Museum Library.

There had been some previous interchange of letters between the Chief Justice and the Oxford Don. The Chief Justice had given Mr. Polwhele's son, Lieutenant Thomas Polwhele, who was an Adjutant at Kamptee, an introduction to Sir Edward Paget, the late Governor of Ceylon, who had recently taken up the Commandership-in-Chief in India, and this, in Sir Hardinge's opinion, was likely to be of service to the young officer, for the Chief Justice had the highest opinion of Sir Edward : " Were I to say all I think of the excellence of Sir Edward, I should not soon terminate my letter ; but you have saved me the necessity in your sketch of an Old English Gentleman. Sir Edward is one of the noblest examples of that noble class of human beings."

Mr. Polwhele had also sent the Chief Justice some of his own poetical efforts, among them some lines on the coronation of George IV, which says the latter "attracted much attention here" ; they delighted the Chief Justice so much that he " had them published in our Gazette (from the *Gentleman's Magazine*), and thus sent them through India." For the *Ceylon Government Gazette* had not yet ceased to be the literary organ of the Colony—at least there was no other.

The Chief Justice's " Verses " contained twenty-three poems—odes, sonnets, songs, ballads, etc. Mr. Polwhele selected one to publish in his *Traditions and Recollections*—a translation of the Sirmio of Catullus, which he considered had " distanced every other translation." But in making this choice it seems likely that a consideration that had great weight with him was the fact that

he himself had also been responsible for a version, which with some naivete if not inconsistency, he describes as "equally sweet and touching." Giffard's version is as follows :—

"Sirmio ! of all peninsulas or isles,
That on or quiet lake or boundless sea,
Neptune embraces—with what joyness smiles—
How pleased—dear lovely spot ! I fly to thee,
Scarcely believing I have left behind
Bithynia's plains, and thee in safety find.
Oh ! what more blest than, when reliev'd from care,
The mind throws off its burden, and o'erworn
With foreign toil, we come to our own chair,
And on the bed we longed for, sink till morn.
This—this alone has recompens'd my pain.
Hail beauteous Sirmio ! For thy mercy's sake !
Rejoice thro' all the waters of thy lake,
Whilst thro' my household halls loud mirth and
laughter reign."

Except for two or three allusions in the others, there is only one poem that can be described as having a Ceylon subject for its theme, and that is the poem entitled "Kandi," written in 1820 before the construction of the road thither from Colombo. This I have given in full elsewhere, and as Ceylon readers are now familiar with it (it seems to have been unknown or completely forgotten before it was then dug out of the British Museum by me), it is unnecessary to repeat it here. It is a description, not of Kandy, but of the difficulties of getting there by jungle paths, with which the Chief Justice was thoroughly disgruntled. One would judge from its sentiments that he was not a sportsman or of active habits. He seems to have suffered from the climate. So in fact his biographer states :—

There is one other poem that is connected with Ceylon, but that only incidentally, for the subject is an Andaman islander. It is called "The Andaman Boy," and the "true story" which is told in its eighteen cantos verses is thus summarised :

A boy of the Andamans, seeing a passing ship "at earliest dawn," "in boyish play ventured on the tide," and swam after the ship, until at last, bewildered and perplexed—for "The Andamans were seen no more," and he had been swimming for twenty-

four hours, for " he saw the rising sun," and now could swim no more,—he was picked up by the ship he had been following.

" The ship pursued her way,
For to fair Lanka's verdant isle,
Her destined voyage lay."

But the boy, now that the Andamans were below the horizon, was homesick, and it was the same after he had landed—certainly at Trincomalee where there are cliffs, and he could look towards the Andamans, as he could not at Colombo or Galle.

" Oh then to see that anxious boy,
Look towards his native land,
And sadly sigh as he was brought
To tread a foreign land.

" Nor Lanka's Isle, nor kindliest care,
Could ought of joy impart,
His mind was in the Andamans,
For home was in his heart.

" Upon the bleak and lofty cliff,
That looks upon the main,
The live-long day that boy would sit,
And strain his sight in vain.

" He thought upon his leaf-built hut,
His hard and simple fare,
But they were lost—and all to him
Was dull and dark despair.

" And vainly did the gallant crew
The boy from danger save,
For day by day he pined away,
And soon was in his grave.

" And who from Scotia's heathy hills,
Or Erin's emerald isle,
Or happy England's fertile fields,
At such a tale can smile ?

" Though boundless regions spread between,
Though mighty oceans part,
Who of you all that does not feel
That Home is in his heart ?"

In a third poem, "Wedded Love," there are two allusions to the Kelani, under the name of the "Mutwal" river. Sir Hardinge lived on the way out to Mutwal, at Rock House, and like the boy from the Andamans he sometimes felt homesick, and while musing on the banks of the Kelani, imagined himself for the moment "on Slaney's side" for he reflects that "even on Mutwal's banks" he can trace

"Remembrance of a milder day,"

and on this 23rd of July, 1820, which is the date of the poem, he calls to mind that it is

"Twelve years to-day,
Since first I called my Harriet wife,
But may not this be all a dream,
Or are these waters Mutwal's stream ?"

In the last poem of the collection, which is addressed to his wife, and is dated on the eve of the thirteenth anniversary of his wedding, 22nd July, 1821, he is looking forward to their return to England (or perhaps Ireland), and to his retirement, the date of which he had already fixed, six years hence:

"Six annual circuits of the sun
But passed, and then our goal is won."

He kept to this programme, which in any case was enforced by the state of his health; for, according to his biographer, "owing to the climate" his health failed, "and he was granted leave of absence;"[1] but he did not reach the goal he had in mind when he wrote these lines, for "he died on 30th April, 1827, while on the homeward voyage, in the *Lady Kennaway*, East Indiaman."

We learn from these small poems some personal details of him and his family that now probably can be obtained nowhere else. He had in 1820 been eight years resident at Colombo, and the number of his children was then seven. His hair was originally brown but had now turned to gray. We may amplify these from other sources. His wife was Harriet, daughter of Lovell Pennell, Esq., of Lyme Regis (perhaps Jane Austen met the Pennells there), and sister (I take it) of Henry Pennell who joined the Ceylon

1. Sir Hardinge seems to have only once before gone home on leave, viz. in 1817-8. He was at Dundrum in March, 1817, and at St. Helena evidently on the voyage back to Ceylon, in May, 1818.

Civil Service as a Writer—very likely because his brother-in-law was already out there, on 23rd June, 1814; and retired from it on 1st October, 1827, on a pension of £500 a year which he went on drawing for 56 years, thereby becoming the Champion Pensioner of the Service, beating even the centenarian Edward Ledwich Mitford by ten years, and Graeme Reid Mercer by eighteen.

The Giffards, with Miss Pennell, probably a sister of Henry, arrived at Colombo in October, 1810, and Hardinge was appointed to some office, I do not know what exactly, in the Admiralty Court at Colombo on 26th February, 1811, and was not gazetted to the office of "His Majesty's Advocate Fiscal" until 26th February, 1812. So that in the interval of seventeen months he must either have been travelling about in Ceylon or India or both, or else was resident somewhere other than Colombo in the Island.

When Sir Hardinge died in 1827, the "seven dear pledges" of the 1820 poem had become ten; he left five sons and five daughters. Of these

The eldest, John William, died on 31st July, 1833, aged 22, so that he must have been born before his parents came out to Ceylon; the rest of the family with possibly one exception must have been born in Ceylon.

His second son, Edward, married Rosamund Catherine, daughter of William Pennell, Esq., of Portsmouth in 1844—she was perhaps a first cousin.

The third son became Admiral Sir George Giffard (1815-88).

His eldest daughter married in October, 1830, Sir William Webb Follett, the Attorney-General for England, who died on June 28th, 1845, "at the house of Mr. Pennell, Cumberland Terrace, Regent's Park, aged 47."

A daughter, Rose, married, on 5th August, 1851, at Weybridge, the Rev. G. H. Fagan, Rector of King's Weston, Somerset. The Fagans afterwards moved to the living of Rodney Stoke in the same county.

Sir Hardinge and the Hon. John Rodney must have been well acquainted and perhaps the memory of their old Ceylon friendship obtained for the former's son-in-law the Rodney family living.

This completes all that I know about the family, with this addition, that Sir Hardinge was the son of John Giffard who was High Sheriff of Dublin in 1794, and Sarah, daughter of William

Norton, Esq., of Ballynaclash, County Wexford, and that the Giffards were an ancient Devonshire family which had settled in Ireland.

The Halsbury branch has gone back to Devon or its borders, where it has a country seat, and the second title is taken from Tiverton. Brightleigh or Brightley in Devon was the native place of the John Giffard, grandfather of the Chief Justice, who settled in Ireland, and this explains the subject of one of Sir Hardinge's poems, No. 2 in the collection, "On Visiting the Ruins of Brightley in Devonshire." This was written in 1792.

To revert to the Pennells, a Lovell Pennell was Deputy Commissary General in Jamaica in 1851—probably a brother-in-law of Giffard's.

The first ten poems were written between 1790 and 1810 before he came out to Ceylon.

The following is a list of the poems.—

1. To Fame. 1790, in a Dearth of News.
2. On Visiting the Ruins of Brightley in Devonshire. Written in 1792.
3. The Laurustinus, the Sweet Pea and the Oak. A Fable in Imitation of Langhorne, September, 1796.
4. Invasion of Ireland, Christmas, 1796.
5. To Eliza, 1797.
6. On being in Kildare in October, 1798.
7. The Pilgrim. Delivered in the Character of a Pilgrim at a Masquerade given in Dublin in Celebration of the Peace, on the King's Birth Day, 1802.
8. Catherine, 1805.
9. Ode for the 25th of October, 1809. (Written for the celebration of the Jubilee in Dublin.)
10. On leaving Dundrum, Cp. Dublin, March, 1810. (He was there again in March, 1817. See No. 17).
11. Roncesvalles, 1814. Written at Colombo, 1814.
12. St. Michael's Mount. Written at Colombo, April, 1814.
13. Peace. Colombo, August 3, 1814.
14. Arthur of Dangan. Song of an Irish Soldier.
15. The Andaman Boy. (A True Story.) 1816.
16. Dundrum, March, 1817. (This was his second visit to the place, made when he was on leave. See No.10).

17. To Harold, 1818. (Somebody who tried to detract from the glory of Waterloo.) St. Helena, May, 1818.
18. Kandi. 1820.
19. Home. 1820.
20. Wedded Love. July 23, 1820.
21. "Bawl, blockheads, bawl a Radical lay." 1820.
22. Sirmio. From Catullus. February, 1821.
23. To Harriet. July 22, 1821.

About his career at the bar and on the bench or his legal attainments I have not much to say. He was a barrister of the Inner Temple as his brother, Stanley Rees, father of Lord Halsbury was, of the Middle, but whether he practised at the English or Irish bar during the fifteen years or thereabouts that elapsed between his call to the bar and his appointment to the King's Advocateship of Ceylon, is not known to me. I take it that he was called to the bar about 1794-5, and the titles of some of the poems show that he was in Ireland in 1796-8, 1802 and 1809, and that he left it for Ceylon in March, 1810. (It was probably in 1798 that he fought a duel with Bagenal Harvey, the Irish rebel leader.) It seems likely, therefore, that it was at the Irish bar that he practised. He was appointed Chief Justice of Ceylon on February 19th, 1820.

Professor R. W. Lee said of him in a speech made at some legal function [2] "One is struck by the astonishing ability with which he handled the intricate questions which came before him at a time when the fortunes of the Island were hanging in the balance, and when it was open to the occupant of the Bench to determine the course which the jurisprudence of the Island was to follow. It was a time when the old members of the Dutch Bar had many of them left the country, when the traditions of the Eighteenth Century were obscured and half forgotten. Sir Hardinge Giffard recalled to mind the traditions of the past. He laid the firm foundations of the system of law which every Chief Justice after him has developed."

2. [The "legal function" referred to was a dinner given to Sir Anton Bertram, the present Chief Justice of Ceylon, by the Law Students in London on his appointment as Attorney-General of Ceylon in 1911.—ED., *C. A.*]

Lord Halsbury, at the same function, said of his uncle. : "He had, I believe, a great struggle on one occasion, of which I have heard by family traditions. He advocated and he insisted...on the application of the Habeas Corpus Act to Ceylon. The Governor, I believe, took a very decided view against anything which would interfere with the complete authority which he claimed in the Island... I don't know exactly how it ended, but I know that the universal opinion was that if what my revered uncle said was the law was not the law, everybody agreed, at the time at all events, that it ought to be."[3]

Perhaps some legal reader of the *Ceylon Antiquary* can give us the date and other particulars of this controversy.

It would seem from this estimate of the Chief Justice's quality as a judge that it must be owing to this and not to his classics or his poetry, that he owes his inclusion in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Yet his biographer in that work says nothing whatever of the former, and apparently is content to rest his reputation on his literary effusions, which are so slight as to make it impossible to suppose that they can have turned the scale in his favour. I doubt myself whether they are of a much higher quality than those of Captain T. A. Anderson, or William Granville, or Archdeacon Bailey. Was he, too, as a judge, on a higher plane than Sir Charles Marshall ? Yet none of these has reached that biographical Temple of Fame. Perhaps it is the combination of law and literature, as with Mr. Justice Henry Matthews and Chief Justice Sir William Rough, that was the deciding factor.

In his speech Lord Halsbury (whose name, by the by, was also Hardinge Giffard) remarked of his uncle that he "never had the opportunity of seeing him." This we can quite understand, for the Chief Justice of Ceylon died in 1827, when the future Lord Chancellor of England was eighteen months old. He died the other day in his ninety-seventh year.

I have spoken of the Chief Justice throughout as "Sir Hardinge Giffard," but it seems doubtful whether he held that

3. [Lord Halsbury would appear to refer to the judgments of Sir Hardinge Giffard reported at pages 80 and 84 in *Ramanathan's Reports* for 1820-1833. They are concerned with the validity of the arrest of a witness by civil or criminal process while going to, remaining at and returning from court. We hope to reproduce extracts from these judgments in a later issue.—ED., *C. A.*]

title for long; for, according to his biographer, the conferring of a knighthood on him would seem to have been unduly delayed, and when this was done, the proper formalities were never completed. He remarks: "Before his death a knighthood was conferred upon him, but it was never gazetted."

But this must have occurred before 1824, for Mr. Polwhele in January of that year speaks of him as "Sir Hardinge."

OMENS AND BUDDHISM.

By JOHN M. SENAVERATNA, F.R.H.S.

THE Sinhalese,—both educated and illiterate, Christian as well as Buddhist,—are great believers in omens, so much so that it may be said without exaggeration that omens colour or influence to a great degree the daily lives of the bulk of the people of this country.

A fairly comprehensive list of the commonest omens, or rather those that are fairly universally believed in, has already been published in this Journal, and for these the reader is referred to the interesting article on "Omens and Prognostications" by Mr. Wilmot P. Wijetunga in the *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. V, pp. 88-90.

Some of these have a great antiquity behind them and can easily be traced back to the period of the life-time of the Buddha, that is about 2,500 years ago.

Bad Omens.

First in regard to bad or evil omens :

Take, for instance, the belief that *things gnawed by mice or rats were unlucky.* Tradition says that at Rájagaha dwelt a very rich Brahmin who was superstitious ; and a mouse gnawed a suit of clothes of his, which was lying by in a chest. One day after bathing himself all over, he called for this suit, and then was told of the mischief which the mouse had done.

"If these clothes stop in the house" thought he to himself, "they 'll bring ill-luck ; such an ill-omened thing is sure to bring a curse. It is out of the question to give them to any of my children or servants ; for whosoever has them will bring misfortune on all around him. I must have them thrown away in a charnel-ground ; but how ? I cannot hand them to servants ; for they might covet and keep them, to the ruin of my house. My son must take them."

So he called his son, and telling him the whole matter bade him take his charge on a stick, without touching the clothes with

his hand, and fling them away in a charnel-ground. Then the son was to bathe himself all over and return. It is in this connection that the Buddha was led to narrate the *Mamgala-Játaka*[1] (No. 87).

As for the unlucky or inauspicious persons, animals or things a person sees or meets especially on first setting forth upon a journey or enterprise, we find it recorded in the *Kurunga-Miga-Játaka* (No. 206) that a hunter, on starting at dawn, sees a bird flapping his wings and he desists from going forth immediately, owing to the bad omen. Then he reasons with himself in this wise: "When I went by the front door I saw a bad omen, now will I go out by the back!" and so he does. But the bird cries out and flaps its wings again and the hunter, turning back, lies down until sunrise and does not go out again till day has broken. In the *Satapatta-Játaka* (No. 279) a man meets a jackal and regards the occurrence as of evil omen.

In the *Vessantara Játaka* (No 547), Maddi thinks to herself: "Last night I saw a bad dream; I will collect my fruits and roots and get me betimes to the hermitage." Trembling she searches for the roots and fruits; but the spade falls from her hand, the basket falls from her shoulder, her right eye goes a-throbbing, and, perturbed by the evil omens, she exclaims:

"Down falls my spade, a-throbbing now in my right eye I feel,
The fruitful trees unfruitful seem, all round me seems to reel!"
And when she turned at evening time to go, the day's work done,
Wild beasts beset her homeward path at setting of the sun.

The sight of a Candála (man of the lowest caste) at morn is held to forebode ill-luck for the rest of the day. In the *Mátanga-Játaka* (No. 497) Ditṭha-Mangaliká.[2] daughter of a Benares merchant, about to enter the park, spies a man.

"Who is that? she asks.

"A Candála, my lady."

"Bah!" says she, "I have seen something that brings bad luck," and, washing her eyes with scented water, she turns back.

1. The extracts from this and other *Jatakas* appearing in this article are throughout quoted, with occasional adaptations, from that admirable translation of the *Jatakas* published by the Cambridge University Press under the able Editorship of Professor E. B. Cowell.

2. Literally, "one who has seen good omens."

Similarly in the *Citta-Sambhúta-Játaka* (No.498), two Candálas, having learnt what is called the art of sweeping in the Candála breed, make up their mind one day to go and show off this art at the city gate. Two young girls, going forth to make merry in the park, see the two Candálas showing their art. The girls ask :

" Who are these ? "

" Candálas," they were informed.

" This is an evil omen to see!" they declare, and after washing their eyes with perfumed water, they turn back to go home.

The sight of an ascetic is likewise held to be of evil omen. In the *Sarabhanga-Játaka* (No. 522) King Daṇḍaki deposes from her position a courtezan whom he had greatly honoured, and, roaming about at her own will, she comes to the park, and, seeing the ascetic Kisavaccha, she thinks :

" Surely this must be Ill-Luck. I will get rid of my sin [3] on his person and will then go and bathe."

And first biting her tooth-stick, she spits out a quantity of phlegm, and not only spits upon the matted locks of the ascetic, but also throws her tooth-stick at his head and goes and bathes. And the King, calling her to mind, restores her to her former position. And infatuated by her folly, she comes to the conclusion that she had recovered this honour because she had got rid of her sin on the person of Ill-Luck.

Not long after this the King deposes his family priest from his office, and he goes and asks the woman by what means she had recovered her position. So she tells him it was from having got rid of her offence on the person of Ill-Luck in the royal park. The priest goes and gets rid of his sin in the same way, and him too the King reinstates in his office.

Now by and bye there is a disturbance on the King's frontier, and he goes with a division of his army to fight. Then that infatuated priest asks the King :

" Sire, do you wish for victory or defeat ?"

" Victory," replied the King.

" Well," he said, " Ill-Luck dwells in the royal park ; go and convey your sin to his person."

He approves of the suggestion and says :

" Let these men come with me to the park and get rid of their sin on the person of Ill-Luck."

3. Compare Frazer's *Golden Bough*, Vol. III. p 120, " Divine Scapegoats."

And going into the park, he first of all nibbles his tooth-stick and lets his spittle and the stick fall on the ascetic's matted locks and then bathes his head, and his army does likewise.

Good Omens.

න ල මුදු සුවඳ පිරි කුඹු මියුරු අඹගෙ සී	Look at thine outset[5] for auspicious signs E'en better[6] than the *nekata*, white fans
ප ල කෙළ කුසුම ලිය පිය තෙපල රන්කෙ සී	Waving, umbrellas white,[7] king elephants,[8]
ස ල සුදු සෙමෙර සේසත් ගිජිදු නොද වූ සී	White flowers in fullest bloom, and sweet-voiced maids,
බ ල සුබ නිමිති පෙර මඟ නැකතටත් වූ සී[4]	Gold pitchers,[9] gentle breezes perfumed, O'erflowing jars, peacocks and mango fruits.[10]

One of the oldest superstitions among the Sinhalese, which has persisted down through the centuries for over 2,000 years, is that anyone entering a house should place his right foot first inside the threshold, the contrary being held to be an unlucky omen. The importance attached to this requirement in the olden days will be apparent from the circumstance that King KávanTissa, father of Dutugemunu, in inviting the brotherhood of the bhikkhus for the name-giving festival of his son, requires *inter alia* that "they shall put the right foot first inside the threshold."[11] (*Mahávansa*, XXII, 68).

References in the *Játakas* to good omens are fairly numerous In the *Satapatta-Játaka* (No. 279) the sight of a crane induces a man to cry out: "Good luck! here's a lucky bird! Now there is a good omen for me!" In the *Sarabhanga-Játaka* (No. 522) a jar of water is held to be a good omen, and in the *Kunála-Játaka* (No 536) a newly-wed bride meets a pregnant woman and it is declared: "It will be a happy omen for the girl. She will be blest with numerous sons and daughters."

The extent to which the belief in omens was carried may be realised from the fact that even the casual remark of a third person

4. *Selalihini Sandésaya* (Macready's trans.) verse 15.
5. Lit. "the outset of thy journey."
6. Lit. "greater than, more than, more important than."
7. The white umbrella was a sign of royalty.
8. Powerful elephants.
9. Water jars or goglets
10. Or "sweet mango fruits."
11. For the prevalence of this superstition among the modern Sinhalese, see Parker, *Village Folk-tales of Ceylon*, p. 14 *et seq.*

affected one's conduct or behaviour and even the shaping of one's life. This is well illustrated in the circumstances under which the Buddha was led to relate the *Kalyána-Dhamma-Játaka* (No. 171):

There was a squire in Sávatthi, one of the faith, a true believer who had fled to the Three Refuges. One day he set out to listen to the Buddha at Jétavana, bearing plenteous ghee and condiments of all sorts, flowers, perfumes, etc. At the same time his wife's mother started to visit her daughter, and brought a present of solid food and gruel. She was a little hard of hearing.

After dinner—one feels a little drowsy after a meal—she said, by way of keeping herself awake:

"Well, and does your husband live happily with you? Do you agree together?"

"Why mother, what a thing to ask! You could hardly find a holy hermit who is so good and virtuous as he!"

The good woman did not quite take in what her daughter said, but she caught the word "Hermit" and cries she:

"O dear, why has your husband turned hermit?" and a great to-do she made. Everybody who lived in that house heard it, and cried:

"News—the squire has turned hermit!"

People heard the noise, and a crowd gathered at the door to find out what it was. "The squire who lives here has turned hermit!" was all they heard.

Our squire listened to the Buddha's sermon, then left the monastery to return to the city. Midway a man met him who cried:

"Why, master, they do say you've turned hermit, and all your family and servants are crying at home!"

Then these thoughts passed through his mind:

"People say I have turned hermit when I have done nothing of the kind. *A lucky speech must not be neglected*; this day a hermit I must be."

Then and there he turned right round, and went back to the Buddha.

"You paid your visit to the Buddha," the master said, "and went away. What brings you back here again?"

The man told him about it, adding:

"*A lucky speech, Sir, must not be neglected.* So here I am, and I wish to become a hermit."

Then he received the lesser and the greater orders, and lived a good life ; and very soon he attained to sainthood.

The story got known amongst the community. One day they were discussing it all together in the Hall of Truth, in this fashion:

"I say, friend, squire so-and-so took orders because he said '*A lucky speech must never be neglected,*' and now he has attained to sainthood !"

The Buddha came in and wanted to know what it was they were talking about. They told him.

"Brethren," said the Buddha, "wise men in days long past also entered the Brotherhood because they said that a lucky speech must never be neglected."

And then he told them a story of olden days, identical in details with the above, in which he himself had figured prominently in a previous birth. The story is the *Kalyána-Dhamma-Játaka* (No. 171).

Was the Buddha a believer in Omens ?

What has been stated above would appear to lend some colour to the doubt implied by the question. Besides, in the *Citta-Sambhúta-Játaka* (No. 498) we have the Buddha's references to the two women of the city of Ujjeni, the one a merchant's daughter and the other a chaplain's, whom he himself describes as "two women wise in the omens of sight."

Again in the *Cullaka-Seṭṭhi-Játaka* (No. 4)—the story of how a young man, "wise and clever, with a keen eye for signs and omens," picks up (at an hour when the position of the stars was favourable) a dead mouse which he sells and works up this capital till he becomes rich—the Buddha would seem to show that he believed in omens, especially since he declares that the young man of the story was he himself in a previous birth.

But, however the above may be explained, there is ample direct evidence in the *Játakas* themselves showing conclusively that the Buddha, not merely did *not* believe in omens but also that he did not fail, whenever the opportunity presented itself, to condemn the superstitious practice in others and to dissuade them from the error of their ways.

Reference has been made above to the superstition that things gnawed by mice or rats were unlucky, and to the story of the young man who had been directed by his father to fling away in a charnel-ground a mice-eaten suit of clothes of his. The sequel to the story

is interesting as illustrating the Buddha's uncompromising views in regard to the belief in omens.

The young man, it would appear, carefully carrying the clothes as his father had bidden him, on the end of his stick—just as though he had a house-snake to carry—came into the charnel-ground, at the entrance to which the Buddha happened to be seated.

"What are you doing, young brahmin?" asked the Buddha.

"This suit of clothes," was the reply, "having been gnawed by mice, is like Ill-Luck personified, and as deadly as though steeped in venom; wherefore my father, fearing that a servant might covet and retain the clothes, has sent me with them. I promised that I would throw them away and bathe afterwards; and that's the errand that has brought me here."

"Throw the suit away, then," said the Buddha; and the young brahmin did so.

"They will just suit me," said the Buddha, as he picked up the fate-fraught clothes before the young man's very eyes, regardless of the latter's earnest warnings and repeated entreaties to him not to take them; and he departed in the direction of the Bamboo-grove.

Home in all haste ran the young brahmin, to tell his father how the Sage Gotama had declared that the clothes would just suit him, and had persisted, in spite of all warnings to the contrary, in taking the suit away with him to the Bamboo-grove.

"Those clothes," thought the brahmin to himself, "are bewitched and accursed. Even the Sage Gotama cannot wear them without destruction befalling him; and that would bring me into disrepute. I will give the Sage abundance of other garments and get him to throw that suit away."

So with a large number of robes he started in company of his son for the Bamboo-grove. When he came upon the Buddha he stood respectfully on one side and spoke thus:

"Is it indeed true, as I hear, that you picked up a suit of clothes in the charnel-ground?"

"Quite true, brahmin."

"That suit is accursed; if you make use of them they will destroy you. If you stand in need of clothes, take these and throw away that suit."

The Buddha's reply was the narration of the *Mamgala-Játaka* (No 87), which he concluded by adding:

" Good enough for us are the rags that are flung away in charnel-grounds. We have no belief in superstitions about Luck, which are not approved by Buddhas, Pacceka Buddhas, or Bodhisattas ; and therefore no wise man ought to be a believer in Luck."

And the Buddha further declared :

" Whoso renounces omens, dreams and signs.
That man, from superstition's errors freed,
Shall triumph o'er the paired Depravities
And o'er Attachments to the end of time."

Luck and Ill-Luck.

On the question of Luck and Ill-Luck, the Buddha's teaching by precept and example was always direct, simple and uncompromising. In the *Culla-Kálinga-Játaka* (No 301), the Kings of Kálinga and Assaka are at war with each other. The Bodhisatta, who in this birth is an ascetic living in a hermitage on a spot lying between the two kingdoms, is asked which of the two would be victorious. The hermit refers the question to Sakka, King of Heaven, who replies :

" Reverend Sir, Kálinga will conquer, Assaka will be defeated, and such and such omens will be seen beforehand."

Though the omens portend victory for Kálinga, the other, undaunted, fights valiantly and eventually gains the victory. In his flight Kálinga reviles the ascetic :

" *Kálingas bold shall victory claim,*
Defeat crowns Assakas with shame."
Thus did Your Reverence prophesy,
And honest folk should never lie.

The hermit afterwards meets Sakka and thus upbraids him :

The gods from lying words are free.
Truth should their chiefest treasure be,
In this, great Sakka, thou did'st lie ;
Tell me, I pray, the reason why.

Sakka's answer is expressive of the Buddha's teaching on this question of Luck and Ill-Luck :

Hast thou, O brahmin, ne'er been told
Gods envy not the hero bold ?
The fixed resolve that may not yield,
Intrepid prowess in the field,
High courage and adventurous might
For Assaka have won the fight.

Similarly, in the *Sarabhanga-Játaka* (No. 522), the following four questions are propounded to the Buddha :

Whom does the world as "moral" name,
And whom does it as "wise" proclaim ?
Whom does the world for "pious" take ?
And *whom does fortune*[12] *ne'er forsake* ?

And the Buddha's answer is illuminating :

Whoso in act and word shows self-restraint,
And e'en in thought is free from sinful taint,
Nor lies to serve his own base ends—the same
All men as "moral" evermore proclaim.

He who revolves deep questions in his mind
Yet perpetrates nought cruel or unkind,
Prompt with good word in season to advise,
That man by all is rightly counted "wise."

Who grateful is for kindness once received,
And sorrow's need has carefully relieved,
Has proved himself a good and steadfast friend—
Him all men as a "pious" soul commend.

The man with every gift at his command,
True, tender, free and bountiful of hand,
Heart-winning, gracious, smooth of tongue withal—
Fortune[13] *from such an one will never fall.*

Of similar import, in the *Vessantara Játaka* (No 521), is Vessantara's advice to the King of Kási as to what a King's duties are :

'T was thus that Good Fortune and Luck, when I asked, made reply unto me,
'*In a man energetic and bold we delight, if from jealousy free.*'

12. That is, Good Luck.
13. *Khud. Patha*, p14.

Ill-Luck, ever wrecking good fortune, delighteth in men of ill deeds,
The hard-hearted creatures in whom a spirit of jealousy breeds.

To all, O great King, be a friend, so that all may thy safety insure,
Ill-Luck put away, but to Luck that is good be a dwelling secure.

The man that is lucky and bold, O thou that o'er Kási dost reign.
His foes will destroy root and branch, and to greatness will surely attain.

Great Sakka all courage in man ever watches with vigilant eyes.
For courage as virtue he holds and in it true goodness espies.

Gandharvas, gods, angels and men, one and all, emulate such a king,
And spirits appearing stand by, of his zeal and his vigour to sing.

Be zealous to do what is right, nor, however reviled, yield to sin,
Be earnest in efforts for good—no sluggard can bliss ever win.

Herein is the text of thy duty, to teach thee the way thou shouldst go
'Tis enough to win bliss for a friend or to work grievous ill for a foe.

Even more precise and clear was the Buddha's teaching on this point on another occasion. After narrating the *Siri Játaka*, No. 284 he declares :

Whatever riches they who strive amain
Without the aid of luck can ever gain.
All that, by favour of the Goddess Luck,
Both skilled and unskilled equally obtain.

All the world over many meet our sight,
Not only good, but creatures different quite,
Whose lot it is fruition to possess
Of wealth in store which is not their's by right.

And, going on to explain that "Man has no other resource but merit won in previous births, enabling him to obtain treasures in places where there is no mine," the Buddha recites the following scripture :— [13]

There is a *Treasury* of all good things
Which both to gods and men their wishes brings.
Fine looks, voice, figure, form, and sovranty
With all its pomp, lies in that Treasury.
Lordship and government, imperial bliss,

The crown of heaven, within that treasure is.
All human happiness, the joys of heaven,
Nirvana's self, from out that store is given.
True ties of friendship, wisdom's liberty,
Firm self-control, lies in that Treasury.
Salvation, understanding, training fit
To make Pacceka Buddhas come from it.
Thus hath this *merit* a virtue magical;
The wise and steadfast praise it one and all.

But perhaps the clearest exposition of the Buddha's views and teaching on this question of man's luck and ill-luck is to be found in the *Siri-Kálakanni-Játaka* (No 382), the story of the

Goddess of Luck and Goddess of Ill-Luck.

Once upon a time when Brahmadatta was King in Benares, the Bodhisatta was a merchant, giving gifts, keeping the commands, and performing the fast day duties: and so his wife kept the five commands, and so also did his sons, his daughters and his servants and workpeople. So he was called the merchant Suciparivára ("pure household").

"If one of purer morals than I should come," he thought, "it would not be proper to give him my couch to sit on or my bed to lie on, but to give him one pure and unused."

So he had an unused couch and bed prepared on one side in his presence-chamber.

At that time, in the Heaven of the Four Kings,[14] Kálakanni, daughter of Virúpakkha, and Siri, daughter of Dhataraṭṭha, both together took many perfumes and garlands and went on the Lake Anotatta to play there.

Now on that Lake there are many bathing-places: the Buddhas bathe at their own place, the PaccekaBuddhas at their's, the Brethren at their's, and the goddesses at their's. These two came thither and began to quarrel as to which of them should bathe first.

"I rule the world," said Kálakanni, "it is proper that I bathe first."

"I preside," said Siri, "over the course of conduct that gives lordship to mankind: it is proper that I bathe first."

14. Dhataraṭṭha, King of the North.
Virulha, ,, ,, ,, South.
Virúpakkha. ,, ,, ,, West.
Vessavana ,, ,, ,, East.

Then both said : " The Four Kings will know which of us ought to bathe first" ; so they went to them and asked which of the two was worthy to bathe first in Anotatta.

" We cannot decide," said Dhataraṭṭha and Virúpakkha, and laid the duty on Virúlha and Vessavana.

They too said : " We cannot decide, we will send it to our Lord's feet" : so they sent it to Sakka. He heard their tale and thought : " Those two are the daughters of my vassals ; I cannot decide this case" ; so he said to them :

" There is in Benares a merchant called Suciparivára ; in his house are prepared an unused couch and bed : she who can first sit or lie there is the proper one to bathe first."

Kálakanni, hearing this, on the instant put on blue [15] raiment and used blue ointment and decked herself with blue jewels : she descended from the heaven as on a stone from a catapult, and just after the mid-watch of night she stood in the air, diffusing a blue light, not far from the merchant who was lying on a couch in the presence-chamber of his mansion. The merchant looked and saw her : but to his eyes she was ungracious and unlovely. Addressing her, he asked :

Who is this so dark of hue,
So unlovely to the view ?
Who are you, whose daughter, say,
How are we to know you, pray ?

Kálakanni replied :

The great King Virúpakkha is my sire :
I am misfortune, Kálakanni dire :
Give me the house-room near you I desire.

Then the merchant enquired :

What the conduct, what the ways,
Of the men with whom you dwell ?
This is what my question prays :
We will mark the answer well.

Then she, explaining her own qualities, answered :

The hypocrite, the wanton, the morose,
The man of envy, greed and treachery :
Such are the friends I love : and I dispose
Their gains that they may perish utterly.

15. Blue is the unlucky colour.

And dearer still are ire and hate to me,
Slander and strife, libel and cruelty.

The shiftless wight who knows not his own good,
Resenting counsel, to his betters rude :

The man whom folly drives, whom friends despise,
He is my friend, in him my pleasure lies.

Then the merchant, blaming her, said :

Káli, depart : there's naught to please you here :
To other lands and cities disappear.

Kálakanni, hearing him, was sorrowful and replied :

I know you well, there's naught to please me here.
Others are luckless, who amass much gear ;
My brother-god and I will make it disappear.

When she had gone, the goddess Siri, coming with raiment and ointment of golden hue and ornament of golden brightness to the door of the presence-chamber, diffusing yellow light, rested with even feet on level ground and stood respectful. The merchant, seeing her, asked :

Who is this, divine of hue,
On the ground so firm and true ?
Who are you, whose daughter, say,
How are we to know you, pray ?

Siri, hearing him, replied :

The great King Dhataraṭṭha is my sire :
Fortune and Luck am I, and wisdom men admire :
Grant me the house-room with you I desire.

Then the merchant enquired :

What the conduct, what the ways
Of the men with whom you dwell ?
This is what my question prays :
We will mark your answer well.

And Siri answered :

He who in cold and heat, in wind and sun,
Mid thirst and hunger, snake and poison-fly,
His present duty night and day hath done :
With him I dwell and love him faithfully.

Gentle and friendly, righteous, liberal,
Guileless and honest, upright, winning, bland,
Meek in high place : I tinge his fortunes all,
Like waves their hue through ocean that expand.

To friend or unfriend, better, like or worse,
Helper or foe, by dark or open day,
Whoso is kind, without harsh word or curse,
I am his friend, living or dead, alway.

But if a fool have won some love from me,
And waxes proud and vain,
His froward path of wantonness I flee,
Like filthy stain.

Each man's fortune and misfortune are his own work, not another's: Neither fortune nor misfortune can a man make for his brothers.

Such was Siri's answer when questioned by the merchant. The latter rejoiced at Siri's words and said :

" Here is the pure seat and bed, proper for you ; sit and lie down there."

She stayed there and in the morning departed to the Heaven of the Four Great Kings and bathed first in Lake Anotatta.

The bed used by Siri was called Sirisaya : hence is the origin of Sirisayana, and for this reason it is so called to this day.

If further testimony were needed as to the uncompromising nature of the Buddha's teaching on the subject of popular belief in omens, it is to be found in the circumstances in which he was led to narrate the *Mahá-Mangala-Játaka* (No. 453), a story which the Buddha related while dwelling in Jétavana about the Mahá-Mangala Scripture or the Treatise on Omens [16] :—

The Omen Problem : its Solution.

At the city of Rájágaha, we are told, for some cause or another a great company had gathered in the royal resting-house, and among these was a man who got up, and went out, with the words :

" This is a day of good omen."

Some one else heard it, and said :

" Yon fellow has gone out talking of '*omens*' ; what does he mean by omen ?"

16. See the *Sutta-Nipáta*, VI. 4.

"The sight of anything with a lucky look is a good omen," said a third. "Suppose a man rise betimes and see a perfectly white bull, or a woman with child, or a red fish, [17] or a jar filled to the brim, or new-melted ghee of cow's-milk, or a new unwashen garment, or rice porridge, there is no omen better than these."

"Well put," said some of the bystanders who commended this explanation.

But another broke in: "No, there's no omen in those; what you hear is the omen. A man hears people saying '*Full,*' then he hears '*Full-grown*' or '*Growing,*' or he hears them say '*Eat*' or '*Chew*': there's no omen better than these."

"Well put," said some of the bystanders and commended this explanation.

"There's no omen in all that," said another; "what you touch is the omen. If a man gets up early, and touches the earth, or touches green grass, fresh cow-dung, a clean robe, a red fish, gold or silver, food, there's no omen better than these."

And here too some of the bystanders approved, and said it was well put.

And then the partisans of omens of sight, omens of sound, omens of touch, formed into three groups, and were unable to convince one another. None could say exactly what an omen was.

All, however, agreed that no one but the Buddha was able to solve this question of the omens, and recourse was accordingly had to him.

The Buddha's solution of the Omen Problem was in this wise:—

Whoso the gods, and all that fathers [18] be,
And reptiles, and all beings, which we see,
Honours for ever with a kindly heart,
Surely a Blessing to all creatures he.

Who shows to all the world a modest cheer,
To men and women, sons and daughters dear,
Who to reviling answers not in kind,
Surely a blessing he to every fere.

Who clear of intellect, in crisis wise,
Nor playmates nor companions does despise,
Nor boasts of birth or wisdom, caste, or wealth,
Among his mates a blessing doth arise.

17. *Cyprinus Rohita.*
18. "Brahmins of the world of Form and of No-form." *Schol.*

Who takes good men and true his friends to be,
That trust him, for his tongue from venom free,
Who never harms a friend, who shares his wealth,
Surely a blessing among friends is he.

Whose wife is friendly, and of equal years.
Devoted, good, and many children bears,
Faithful and virtuous and of gentle birth,
That is the blessing that in wives appears.

Whose King the mighty Lord of Beings is,
That knows pure living and all potencies,
And says : " He is my friend," and means no guile—
That is the blessing that in monarchs lies.

The true believer, giving drink and food,
Flowers and garlands, perfumes, ever good,
With heart at peace, and spreading joy around—
This in all heavens brings beatitude.

Whom by good living virtuous sages try
With effort strenuous to purify,
Good men and wise, by tranquil life built up,
A blessing he mid saintly company.

And the Buddha concluded by declaring :

These blessings then, that in the world befall,
Esteemed by all the wise, magnifical,
What man is prudent let him follow these,
For in the Omens is no truth at all.

Sneezing : an Evil Omen.

Among the Greeks and Romans, sneezing was a good omen. So even in the *Odyssey*, XVII, 545. The Loves sneeze at a lover as a sign that he is to be happy, in Theocritus, VII. 96. Compare Catullus, XLV. 18 ; and also Theocritus, XVIII. 16, the Epithalamium of Helen. [19]

But in the ancient East as in the modern East as well as West, a sneeze is regarded as of evil omen. In the West, when anybody sneezes, the exclamations in use even at the present day are "God bless you," " Gott hilf," " Felicitá," etc. In Ceylon, among the

19. J.A.O.S, Vol XIII, p XX.

Sinhalese, the Buddhist in similar circumstances would exclaim "*Ayu-bóvan*" and the Christian would piously ejaculate: "*Jesu Christu.*" And neither Buddhist nor Christian would start on a journey or set his hand to any work or even pursue any idea or decision formed in his mind if anybody at the moment sneezed within his hearing, the contemplated journey or work, etc., being deferred for a little time, sometimes even for hours or the next day. It ought to be added, however, that among some Sinhalese the belief exists that if a woman sneezes, it is of happy augury for a man starting forth on a journey or undertaking and *vice-versa.*

The antiquity of the superstition is well attested. The earliest mention in Hindu literature of superstitious practices in connection with sneezing is found in the *Jáiminíya-Bráhmana*, at II. 155, and reads as follows, the translation being Professor Whitney's[20]:—

Tam evam santam devá abhito nisedur: ayam na eko víro 'bhút sa ittham nyagát kva bhaváma iti: sa ho 'váca na vái vidma yo 'bhúvam iti kim iti cuksúsámi vá ity: atha ha sma tatah purá ksutvái 'va mriyante: tam ho "cuh ksuhi jive ti tvá vaksyáma iti sa ha cuksáva tam ha jive 'ty úcus sa jijiva: tasmád idam apy etarhi cuksuvánsam áhur jive 'ti.

'Him, being in this plight, the gods sat down about: "he hath been our one hero; he hath thus sung (?); where are we?" He said: "we do not know what I have been:"— "Why?"— "I want to sneeze." Now up to that time, people used to die when they sneezed. They said to him: "sneeze; we will say 'live' to thee." So he sneezed they said "live" to him; he lived. Therefore also at the present time they say "live" to one who has sneezed.

The Buddhist account of the superstition as it was known and practised in the Buddha's life-time is more interesting. The story (*Gagga-Játaka*, No. 155) was told by the Buddha when he was staying in the monastery made by King Pasenadi in front of Jétavana; it was about a sneeze which he gave.

One day, we are told, as the Buddha sat discoursing with four persons round him, he sneezed. "Long life to the Blessed One, long life to the Buddha[21]!" the Brothers all cried aloud, and made a great to-do.

20. *Ibid.* l.c.

21. According to the *Kunála Játaka* (No. 536), the natives of Benares, if they sneezed or stumbled, said: "Praise be to Saccatapávi." (Saccatapávi was "a white nun who had a hut of leaves built in a cemetery near Benares, and living there she abstained from four out of five meals, and throughout the city her fame was blazed abroad like as it were that of the moon or sun.")

The noise interrupted the discourse. Then the Buddha said to the Brethren :

" Why, Brothers, if one cry ' *Long life* !' on hearing a sneeze, does a man live or die any the more for that ?"

" No, no, Sir," they answered.

" You should not," he went on, " cry ' *Long life* ' for a sneeze, Brethren. Whosoever does so is guilty of sin."

It is said that at that time, when the Brethren sneezed, people used to call out : " Long life to you, Sir !" But the Brethren had heir scruples, and made no answer. Everybody was annoyed, and asked :

" Pray, why is it that the priests about Buddha the Sakya prince make no answer, when they sneeze, and somebody or other wishes them long life ?"

All this was told to the Buddha. He said :

" Brethren, common folk are superstitious. When you sneeze, and they say ' *Long life to you, Sir* !' I permit you to answer : ' The same to you.' "

Then the Brethren asked him :

" Sir, when did people begin to answer ' *Long life* ' by ' *The same to you* ?' "

" That was long, long ago," said the Buddha, and he told them the following tale of the olden time: [22]

The Bodhisatta and his father Gagga attempted to pass the night in a house haunted by a goblin. This goblin had leave to eat all persons who entered except such as said : " *Long life to you* !" on hearing a sneeze, and such as said : " *The same to you* !" on hearing a " *Long life to you.*"

The goblin lived upon the central rafter of the house. Thinking " I will make Gagga sneeze," he sent forth a cloud of small dust The dust entered Gagga's nostrils. He sneezed. His son, the Bodhisatta, did not say " *Long life to you* ;" so the goblin came down to eat him. The Bodhisatta thought :

"This must be the one who made my father sneeze, the goblin who eats every one that neglects to say ' *Long life* ' on hearing a sneeze."

22. The story, as appearing below, is an abridgment of the original.

So he addressed his father thus:

"O Gagga, live a hundred years,
Aye, and twenty more, I pray;
May no goblin eat you up;
Live a hundred years, I say."

The goblin thought: "I cannot eat this man because he has said '*Long life to you.*' But I shall eat his father." And he came close to the father. But Gagga divined the truth of the matter. "This must be the goblin," thought he, "who eats all who do not reply '*Long life to you, too*!'"

So, addressing his son, he said:

"You, too, live a hundred years,
Aye, and twenty more, I pray;
Poison be the goblin's food;
Live a hundred years, I say!"

The goblin, hearing these words, turned away, thinking: "Neither of these two can be eaten by me."

Then the Bodhisatta reprimands, tames, and converts the goblin, and the story is brought to a close.

THE PARISH SCHOOLS UNDER GOVERNOR NORTH.*

By L. J. GRATIAEN.

WHEN the Dutch retired from Ceylon they left behind them a system of parish schools, which has been described by the Rev. J. D. Palm in an article in the first volume of the *Journal* of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. In this paper my purpose is, after sketching the system as it was in Dutch times, to relate how the parish schools fared under Governor North and the Rev. James Cordiner, Principal of the Schools, the story being based largely on hitherto unpublished papers in the Government Archives.

The Dutch parish schools were essentially mission schools, in which the children were taught reading, writing and the Christian religion. In the villages where schools were established education was free and (nominally) compulsory, and children could not leave school till they had satisfied an examiner that they had reached a required standard. The leaving age was about 15 years, but children who had left school had to attend "continuation classes" twice a week for at least three years to receive religious instruction. In the school buildings Sunday services were held, generally by the "first schoolmaster," who was also the village registrar, in charge of the 'thombos' in which the 'history-sheet' of every baptised person in the village was entered.[1] There were generally three masters to each school. "Previous to receiving their appointments in the schools they underwent an examination....and it was an established custom at the admission of a new teacher to examine again all the schoolmasters."[2] Their income consisted chiefly of the marriage fees [2] paid by the Christians in the village. A few details from Cordiner's book enable us to see the schools better.

(*See *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. VII, p 141 *et seq.* for Mr. Gratiaen's previous article entitled "The First English School in Ceylon :—Ed., *C.A.*)

1. For an example see the *Report on the Dutch Records* by R. G. Anthonisz, p 120.
2. Cordiner to North, 18th September, 1799.

"The walls" (of the schoolhouses), he says, "are raised about five feet from the ground all round. On these stone pillars are raised, supporting a tiled roof; and the space between the columns is filled with small rails supplying the place of windows. All the furniture consists of stone benches built along the walls, and one chair and one desk, which the schoolmaster never uses....

"The masters wear coats of a grave colour, of the ancient Portuguese and Dutch fashions, white vests, and a sheet of printed cotton in the place of breeches. The dress of the boys is a piece of calico girded about the loins. The girls wear short shifts, a folded cloth in room of a petticoat, combs in their hair, silver bracelets, and gold earrings.[3]

"They learn the letters....by writing them in sand spread upon the floor, or a stone bench, at the same time singing their names and the characteristics of their formation....Boys of five years of age write after this method with great facility and neatness. Those more advanced write, or engrave, with a stylus, or piece of pointed steel fixed in a brass handle, on slips of talipot or palmyra leaves."[4] The prayers they learnt by repeating the words after the masters.[5]

Groups of schools were supervised by catechists, "whose employment is to go from school to school and examine the masters and scholars."[6] Once a year the "Scholarchal Commissions," or School Committees of clergy and officials set up at Colombo, Galle and Jaffna to superintend the schools, sent a clergyman to visit each mission station in turn. He examined the pupils and the adult Christians, listened to complaints, preached, baptised and married, and the 'thombo holder' or chief registrar, who accompanied him, entered in his books the names of those baptised or married. It must be remembered that in those days of no roads, travelling was a toilsome and expensive business, not to be undertaken except with the permission and at the expense of Government.

His procedure during a visitation is thus described by the Rev. David Meyer :[7]

"After that the children were come to school, I caused the schoolmaster to read to them a chapter from the Bible, the ten commandments and the twelve articles of the creed, upon which, after having implored the blessing of the Almighty Lord of Heaven and Earth over the congregation and my service, I proceeded to examine the progress the children had made in the divine truths.

3. Cord. Vol. I, Ch VI.
4. Cord. Ch VIII.
5. Cord. to N. February 6th, 1801.
6. Cord. to N. 21st September, 1799.
7. Report of Rev. D. Meyer 14th October, 1799.

"After which, I examined the progress the scholars had made in reading and writing, and then at most places I examined the schoolmasters themselves. Thereupon the Pagans who had offered to become Christians pronounced to me the confession of the faith, after which I first christened the aged and then the children. I next married those who wished to enter the holy state of matrimony. Herewith after having pronounced the blessing over the congregation that was present, I took my leave. At the schools of....I both preached, and served the Sacrament."

It is not surprising that during the first two years of the British occupation the schools were neglected. Not only had the temporary administration many urgent matters to attend to; it consisted of servants of the East India Company, whose attitude to missions was not too friendly. The schools went rapidly to decay, [8] but neglect did not entirely destroy them. Some teachers at least stuck to their work,[9] their position as village registrars helping no doubt to keep them faithful.

Visitations indeed ceased, the Dutch clergy being prisoners of war, but as soon as Governor North took over the Government the clergy applied for permission to visit their schools, and were met in a generous spirit. In November, 1798, Rev. C. F. Schroter obtained a warrant from the Governor, [10] permitting and directing him to visit his schools and churches, "therein to preach, examine and catechise and to exercise all the duties attached to his sacred calling....but not to compel children of persons of any other form of Christianity to attend his services." In January Rev. G. Philips was given permission to visit his schools, [11] and in March Rev. David Meyer, who had gone on circuit in 1798 at his own expense, [12] visited his schools again.[12] These were Colombo clergy. Rev. A. E. Van der Brock of Galle visited his schools in 1799, and again in 1800.[13] All these clergy received travelling allowances from the Governor, and submitted reports to him on the state of the schools.

Rev. Meyer reported as follows: [12]

"Respecting the state in which I found the schools, I must declare, to my great sorrow, that all the schools in general were in a bad state both with respect to Instruction and to order. The schoolmasters first made their excuse by saying that the children were very neglectful in coming to school, but that it was the fault of

8. Valentia, p 307.
9. Harvard, Ch I.
10. 12th November, 1798.
11. North to Philips, 4th January, 1799.
12. Report of Rev. D. Meyer to North, 14th October, 1799.
13. North to School Assembly of Galle, January, 1799, and Cord. to N. 8th September, 1801.

the Native Headmen, who had formerly an order to assist the schoolmasters in encouraging the parents to send their children to school, but who now will not trouble themselves therewith, and the parents were very indifferent.

"The schoolmasters complained besides that since three years they have not had any subsistence excepting the little that by order of Brigadier-General de Meuron was divided amongst them from the pay of Parson Kanwerts who went to Batavia, and that therefore they had not been able to pay continual attention to the schools, as they had been obliged to provide for their daily subsistence. I must observe that to oblige the Chingulee catechists and schoolmasters to a constant and zealous performance of their duty I am of opinion that it is absolutely just to allow them a reasonable pay, and that those schoolmasters who are convicted of having performed Pagan Ceremonies and Sacrifices shall be severely punished and dismissed from the service.

"But what concerns further the state in which I found the schools, I must however confess that the order and instruction has been greatly improved by the school-visit which I made a year ago at my own expense, as the schoolmasters and inhabitants then perceived that the cultivation of the Christian Religion amongst the Cingalese would not be neglected....Several schoolmasters have complained not to be able to perform properly their service on account that their schools are either fallen in or in ruinous state, such as the schools at Barber(yn), Mackoen, Diyegam and Mockelangam, which are entirely fallen in, and those of Dandoegam and Kalanie, but partly. The other schools are greatly in want of repairs, excepting those of Aloetgam, Payagelle and Caliture gravet, which three schools are in good condition."

The Governor was satisfied with the Dutch system, believing (the words are Lord Valentia's, [14] but the opinion, without doubt, is North's) that "if the plans introduced by the Dutch were quietly and steadily pursued, there was good reason to believe that the whole Cingalese nation might, in time, be converted." In March, 1799, he wrote to the Court of Directors:[15] "I am far from finding any reason to tax the Dutch clergy here with any negligence of their duty." He explained that their salaries were being paid, and that he had permitted and paid for their visitations and allowed them to recommend proponents, catechists and schoolmasters,[16] but that there were not enough men available for the work. There was not then a single English clergyman in the Island. But the Governor was sanguine. He wanted an English Archdeacon to be sent out, and an establishment of forty Parish Priests, episcopally ordained.

14. Valentia, p 308.
15. General letter of 5th March, 1799.
16. See also N. to Galle School Assembly, 15th January, 1799, and N. to Schroter, 19th December 1798.

He sketched a scheme for sending two natives to England every year to receive a University education and return as Parish Priests. Such proposals did not appeal to the Court of Directors. He urged them again,[17] but with no result.

Late in 1799 Cordiner arrived as Chaplain, and the management of the schools was soon placed in his hands. His first achievement paved the way for the failure of all his subsequent labours. On the 18th of September, reporting on applications for a vacant mastership he informed the Governor that the schoolmasters had no other means of support besides "some perquisites from the marriage of the native Christians." and suggested that "if a sufficient salary were allotted to each schoolmaster, it might be attended with good consequences."

The next day the Governor replied, agreeing "in the Propriety of granting proper salaries to the schoolmasters." "It is my intention," he proceeded, "to abolish the Dues paid on the marriage of native Christians." On the 21st Cordiner wrote: "In the district of Colombo there are upwards of fifty schools, all of which have now no other support but the marriage dues. And although the sum exacted on the occasion be very small it would be an act of bounty to the inhabitants and much more comfortable for the schoolmasters to be paid in a different manner." He suggested that eight Rix-dollars should be paid to the staff of each school. On the 25th he was informed that his suggestion was approved, and the school establishment was to be maintained "independently of the marriage fees hitherto exacted, the abolition of which I consider as absolutely necessary for the Morals as well as the Happiness of this indigent people." The schools thus became a charge on public funds, and an easy victim to retrenchment.

But Cordiner did not guess what was coming. He proceeded with the appointments of Preachers, who were to take over the charge of the schools and congregations in the country districts. His "Estimate of the Proposed Ecclesiastical Establishment on Ceylon....which will soon be completed,"[18] provided for 20 Ministers of the Gospel at 50 Rds. per mensem, 10 catechists at 15 Rds., and 145 country schools at 8 Rds. It does not seem that as many as 20 Preachers were ever appointed. Cordiner in fact

17. Despatch of 30th January, 1800.
18. Cord. to Boyd, 11th January, 1800.

says that "one was established at each of the Principal stations in the Island,"[19] enumerating twelve.

"This Preacher," he continues, "is instructed to perform divine service in one of the churches within his province, every Sunday, to administer the ordinance of baptism; to solemnize marriages, to visit all the schools committed to his care, at least three times in the year; to examine particularly the conduct and ability of the catechists and schoolmasters, and to inform his Principal (i.e. Cordiner, Principal of the Schools) minutely of all that occurs."[19]

The change of system, therefore, shut out the Dutch clergy from the schools. North explained[20] that owing to their refusal to pray for the King he could not allow them authority in the country, and that they were very well replaced by Native Ministers. In reality the strict Dutch clergy protested against the appointment of clergy without proper credentials,[21] and were informed that the new Ministers were entirely independent of all ecclesiastical authority, but the Governor's and the Bishop of London's.[22] The best known and best qualified of the new Preachers was Christian David, a pupil of the famous missionary Schwartsz, who in February 1801 was appointed to Jaffna.

Cordiner formed one of the party that accompanied the Governor in a tour round the Island begun in June, 1800, and he inspected most of the schools on the road, furnishing afterwards a detailed report of what he had seen.[23] Thirty-five schools from Galkissa to Matara were inspected in June, July and August.[24] The schoolhouses were generally ruined or in bad repair, but masters and children erected "bungaloes" or open cadjan sheds close by, where work was carried on. Compulsory attendance had now become a fiction, and the actual attendance at each school was small. At Panadure, for instance, there were 500 children on the roll and 47 present. Many of the masters complained that the headmen did not enforce attendance. The girls especially stayed away be-

19. Cordiner, Part I, Ch. V.

20. N's Despatch, 18th February. 1801.

21. C. to N., 26th September, 1799; Kerkenraad of Colombo to N., 30th January, 1800; and Meyer to N., 12th February, 1800.

22. N. to Meyer, 17th February, 1800.

23. C. to N., February 6th, 1801.

24. They were at Galkisse, Morotto, Pantura, Calture Gravet, Calture River, Waddue, Payegalle, Maccoon, Barbery, Alutgam, Bentot, Indure, Petigul, Kosgodde, Vellitot, Ambalangodde, Madampay, Wattugedere, Hicodua, Kahavey, Rayagam, Dadaley, Galle, Belligam, Mirissa, Walgam, Cottewegodde, Doendra, Naduna, Tallale, Dickwell, Kahawatte, Puakdandawe, Gettemaane, Mature.

cause the tax on jewels prevented their attending in their finery, and in some cases because the schoolhouses were too close to the road.

In many cases Cordiner mentions that he examined the schoolmasters and found them well qualified, and in others that the schools seemed to be conducted with diligence and attention. At Payegalle the first schoolmaster, though blind for five years, taught with great success, and at Morotto the blind and infirm second-master "went through the business of catechising uncommonly well." In each school the children "were examined in catechism and repeated prayers," and a few in each could read and write. Most of the schools in the Western Province were open only four days a week, Wednesday and Saturday being holidays. But on Sundays the children had to assemble for service.

In September two schools at Batticaloa opened by the new Preacher M. F. Fernando [25] were inspected, and declared to be "conducted with more diligence and regularity than any others I have met with on the Island." In the school in the fort the attendance was 40. "Every child had a book of oleys in his hand, and seemed applying with great earnestness and attention to his task. Fourteen boys read perfectly well, and six write beautifully on oleys. All appear very smart and promising, and are from 16 years of age to 26." In the second school, two miles away, was a schoolmaster called John Casinader, "a very engaging youth of 15 years of age, and very attentive to his business." In the Trincomalee district Cordiner found only two schools, one at Trincomalee, opened by the Preacher Philippo in June, where 60 boys were at work with "every appearance of diligence and attention," and one at Nellavelly, where there were 16 boys. In a short time, however, eight schools were 'resumed' in the district.

In December Cordiner was at Jaffna, where he found it "impossible to hold a visitation of the schools, ...as the buildings have fallen into decay, and the schoolmasters, from the loss of their salaries, had relaxed in their attention. I have, however, seen them all, and they are rejoiced to resume their employment.... The collector promised to circulate an order that the schools may be repaired or bungalows erected in their stead." At Chundiculli, Ponnereen, Palveracotta and Ilpacadua teaching was just being

25. He was a Tamil, not a Sinhalese.

resumed. In a short time 36 schools were in operation,[26] classes being held in the masters' houses in the absence of proper buildings.[27] At Mannar no schools had yet been opened, and from Calpentyn to Grandpass there were only eleven.[28] The buildings were all in great want of repair, and the attendance of each school small.

During 1801 and 1802 the schools received a good deal of attention. The new preachers went on circuit regularly three times a year.[29] Orders were given[30] that estimates should be prepared for the thorough repair and rebuilding of the decayed schools; a few new schools were brought into operation,[31] and an attempt was made by such proclamations as the following[32] to encourage attendance at school:

Advertisement by the Governor.

"Whereas the schoolmasters of this district have complained to us that notwithstanding their repeated admonitions the parents of children neglect sending their children to school,

"We do hereby peremptorily order all Protestant Parents to send their children to the established schools, and the several Modeliars and other headmen are required to see this order carried into effect.

"By order of the Governor,

(Sgd.) ROBERT ARBUTHNOT,

Chief Secy. to Government."

Another method of improving the work of the schools is indicated in a letter from Christian David[33] stating that all but two of the schoolmasters of Mannar had come to Jaffna and been catechised daily by him at St. John's Church in the Principles of Christianity until he found them tolerably qualified. He had examined them on a Sunday before the congregation and dismissed them to their schools. This was in 1803.

Meanwhile the Crown had resumed authority over Ceylon in March, 1801, and the Secretary of State, Dundas, communicating

26. Cord to N., 13th June, 1803.
27. Cord to Arbuthnot, 19th July, 1802, enclosure.
28. They were at Calpentyn, Chilaw, Wonapoo, Caymel Sunampity, Bolawalane, Petipanne, Dandigam, Veligampity, Velisery, Passbetal.
29. C. to N., 28th March, 1802, and enclosure; C. to N., 9th June, 1802, and enclosure, C. to N., 19th July, 1802, and enclosure.
30. C. to N., 20 Nov., 1801, and minute.
31. C's report of February 6th, 1801.
32. Proclamation of 4th January, 1802.
33. Enclosed in C's to N., 13th June, 1803.

this fact to the Governor,[34] considered the subject of the ecclesiastical establishment too complex to be decided at once, and postponed discussion. All he would say was that "whatever can be done consistently with limited resources to improve the present education....cannot fail to meet with approbation." North ignored the reference to limited resources, and urged [35] that "an apparent indifference on the part of rulers to their religion is not respectable" in the eyes of the people, that the schools could not be sufficiently superintended by one English clergyman and his native assistants, and [36] that three or four Ministers of the Gospel were "absolutely necessary."

By this time the preliminaries had been signed[37] of the Treaty by which Ceylon was ceded to England. Some of the Dutch clergy, "respectable Dutch pastors who are acquainted with the language and manners of the people,"[38] offered to continue in office as British subjects,[39] and North accepted their aid, with which he would "be able to render the schools throughout the country efficient."[39] Philipsz, Meyer and Schroter now resumed their visits to the schools.

But the Secretary of State demanded economy in the administration.[40] Cordiner, being consulted "as to the best and easiest mode of effecting a reduction in the school establishments,"[41] protested [42] that the country schools were "established on so economical a plan that no saving could be made without evident disadvantage."

North wrote to the Secretary of State : [43] "Much reform is still necessary in the country schools, but it should consist, not in diminution of numbers, but in increase of efficiency. Each of them at present costs Government 8 Rds. per mensem, and they are 163 in number. But in whatever arrangement may be made (and in making such arrangements I at present am occupied) for the interior Government of the country, the schoolmasters will probably be intrusted with duties of a notarial nature, which will procure retributions from individuals perhaps equal to their

34. Despatch of March, 1801.
35. N's Despatch, 5th October, 1801.
36. Despatch of 9th December, 1801.
37. October, 1801.
38. Despatch of 24th November, 1802.
39. General letter of 23rd March, 1802.
40. Despatch of 6th August, 1802. and N's Despatch of 16th October, 1802.
41. Order of 4th October, 1802.
42. Letter of C., 9th October, 1802.
43. Despatch of 24th November, 1802.

actual settled expense." This new plan is referred to elsewhere [44] as "the introduction of small notarial fees in a new arrangement which I am making for the security of inheritances among natives." It was a return to the earlier principle of payment, but it came too late to save the schools.

In June, 1803, the Governor "received peremptory orders to confine the expense of the schools in this Island to £1,500 a year," and in July he ordered immediate "suppressions and reductions."[45] All payments to country schoolmasters and catechists ceased from the 1st of August.[46] The Government Parish schools, therefore, ceased for a time. In January, 1804, North reported their suppression to the Secretary of State : [47]

"The critical state of the country prevented my carrying into immediate effect a measure of such extensive importance as the abolition of the country schools. It has, however, since taken place, but it would not be just to place the expense incurred by them under the head of public education. The schoolmasters were in fact the village notaries, and to that extent they must to a certain number be re-established."

He continued to protest,[48] but in vain, so far as his own term of office was concerned. It was left to others to revive the parish schools.

44. Despatch of 23rd November, 1802.
45. Arb. to C., 8th July, 1803.
46. Cord to Arb., 16th January, 1804, and 28th January, 1804.
47. Despatch of 18th January, 1804.
48. Despatch of 27th February 1805.

PORTUGUESE INFLUENCE ON SINHALESE SPEECH.

By REV. S. G. PERERA, S.J.

THE influence of Portuguese on the Sinhalese vocabulary is the outcome of the very much wider influence which the Portuguese nation exerted in this country three centuries ago. The extent of that influence in shaping Ceylonese polity is not fully recognised. It has become the fashion in history to run down the Portuguese wholesale, and to connect their name with all that is vile. Their successors began it to show that "Codlin is the friend not Short." Others took up the tale for different reasons and for other purposes. Unfortunately for the cause of historical truth, though there ever were Dutchmen in the island to stand up for their ancestors and see fair play, the descendants of the Portuguese had sunk so low that none ever seemed to have the knowledge or ability or courage to challenge the wholesale condemnation of their forbears. Thus the old-time appreciation is continued down to this day. But a reaction must needs set in.

When the history of the Portuguese comes to be studied, without bias, and in its proper perspective, many a popular notion will disappear. It is true, indeed, that in the first flush of conquest, and without the restraining influence of rivalry, the Portuguese did deeds of violence and tyranny which nothing can justify. In that respect, however, no European nation in the East, or anywhere else, has a clean record to show. When all is said and done, it must be admitted that in their intercourse with the people of this country the Portuguese followed a policy in some respects unsurpassed by their successors.

The Portuguese settlers did not form an exclusive set, and keep the native at arm's length. They did not, as a rule, come out to make a fortune and go home to enjoy it. Fortunes they sought to make, but they came to live here for good, around and amidst and along with the people of the country. "When they (the Portuguese) go to a place," wrote Saar, "they mean to

remain there all their lives, and do not care to go back to Portugal. But a Hollander when he comes to the Indies thinks, 'when my six years are past I go back to my fatherland.'" Indeed it is from the Netherlands that the Anglo-Indian Official learnt the valuable word furlough (*verlof*). The Portuguese domiciled in Ceylon, and gradually adopted Ceylonese customs as the Ceylonese took up their's; and thus was laid the foundation of the better relations between East and West than obtains, for instance, in the neighbouring continent.

The Portuguese soldier and the Lascoreen likewise were comrades-at-arms, and shared the dangers and privations of war as well as its triumphs and spoils. Portuguese soldiers served under Sinhalese Disávas. A Portuguese General, with three of the highest officers in the land, carried a victorious Sinhalese Mudaliyar on their shoulders in the spirit of comradeship learnt at the University of Coimbra.[1] In the same spirit and on the same Mudaliyar was conferred the highest Knighthood ever conferred on a Sinhalese: and though he had much to suffer from the Portuguese, Don Fernando Mudaliyar, *alias* Samarakon Rála, lived to be Captain of Goa, a post next in honour to that of the Viceroy of the Indies.

The Portuguese, moreover, lived in such terms of intimacy with the Ceylonese that they intermarried with them without it ever entering their heads to think themselves demeaned thereby. Whatever one thinks of such mixed unions he cannot help admiring the principles that made such marriages possible and even frequent. The Ceylonese were promoted to posts of honour and responsibility, and all the correspondence on important affairs of state once passed through the hands of the Sinhalese Secretary of a Portuguese Captain-General. But the greatest force at work to bridge the gulf between East and West was Christianity. Nothing levels men like a common religion. The Portuguese did not merely "convert." They also fraternised. Conversion brought the Sinhalese closer to the Portuguese and it also dealt the first blow on Caste. Once begun, the influence of the Portuguese passed far beyond the pale of the converts. It manifested itself in every department of life, and thus affected the common speech.

1. Queyroz, *Conquista*, 417: "Esquecido de sua authoridade, e lembrado dos estilos de Coimbra nas oposiçoes dos seus Doutores, a onde se tinha criado; ele (D. Jeronimo de Azavedo) Thome de Souza Aronches, Joao Rodriguez d'Eca, e Antonio de Souza Godinho, tomando a D. Fernando nos braços, e pondo-o sobre os hombres, o levaraõ em triumfo, hua grande carreyra de cavalo, the a tenda do Geral, dando-lhe mil viuas e perabẽs."

The Portuguese language could not affect the Sinhalese grammar or syntax. It affected the vocabulary. Portuguese never was the language which a Sinhalese would speak if you stuck a pin into him. It was by a mistake of his own that Valentyn made Vimala Dharma Suriya speak Ceylon Portuguese in a moment of excitement.[2] It was merely the language of fashion. It was spoken in the Court of Kandy. It came so naturally to Dona Catherina that, according to Baldeus, she spoke Portuguese on her death-bed.[3] It was in Portuguese that her son, Rája Sinha, conversed with foreigners and corresponded with the Dutch, and Knox has recorded that "he understands and speaks it excellently well." There is, however, no record of Portuguese being spoken quite so largely then as English is now. Nor does it appear that Portuguese books had any great circulation in Ceylon. The language that was spoken was not book learnt, but picked up by the direct method from the surroundings. Without a standard to go upon, without a literature, language naturally deteriorates, and frequent communications between the Portuguese and the Ceylonese tended to introduce vernacular idiom into the spoken Portuguese, just as much as Portuguese words into the Sinhalese spoken in the forts and camps. That revolting mixture of English and Sinhalese which one now hears in a Railway carriage is a fair specimen of how both Portuguese and Sinhalese corrupted in the towns. At least such I conceive to be the origin of that debased form of Portuguese which has continued to be spoken by the Portuguese and Dutch descendants down to this day.

It was the Portuguese spoken in Dutch times. The Dutch, realising the extent to which it was spoken and dreading its influence, attempted to root it out by legislation. One of their earliest edicts[4] was directed against the use of the Portuguese

2. Valentyn (108) says that Vimala Dharma, irritated by the behaviour of Sebalt de Wert, said to his men: "*mara isto can*" which he translates *bind me dien hond* ('bind me this dog"). This perplexed Tennent (II, 37) who exclaims: "But *mara* is not Portuguese;—and it is possible that the king's order was *atar*, 'to bind,' which may have been mistaken by the bystanders for *matar* 'to kill.'" The bystanders were Kandyan Sinhalese to whom both *matar* and *atar* would be double Dutch. If Tennent had looked into a dictionary of Ceylon Portuguese he would have found that *mata*, in that dialect, means "bind." Valentyn was right enough in his translation into Ceylon Portuguese, but he is quite wrong in putting Ceylon Portuguese into the King's mouth.

Baldeus (20), from whom Valentyn takes the incident, says that the king said in Sinhalese "*banda lapa mebal*" (a mistake for "*benda-palla me balla*") which he translates *bint me dien hond*. Valentyn improved Baldeus and translated the Sinhalese words into Ceylon Portuguese. This was pointed out by Mr. Ferguson in the *C.L.R.* (III, 120). Nevertheless the story goes round that "in moments of excitement Portuguese came more familiarly to the mouth of the king than his mother tongue" (*Portuguese Era*, I. 362).

3. Baldeus, orig. Dutch edition, p. 36.

4. Plackaat, 14 November 1659 Valentyn. 414) which is here given in the words of Tennent, II. 70.

language " in order that the name of our enemies may perish, and our own flourish in its stead." " In order that the children of the Sinhalese might be taught Dutch by their attendants, the heads of all slaves who could not speak it were ordered to be shaved, and a fine for neglect was imposed on their masters."[5] But these efforts were fruitless, and the Dutch ended by adopting it themselves. Nay more, they even gave it, what the Ceylon Portuguese lacked, a literature. Parts of the Bible, the Psalms, Catechisms, etc., in Portuguese were issued from the Dutch Press.[6] And Ceylon Portuguese continued to be spoken in the homes of the Dutch descendants.

The early British officials were constrained to learn this dialect, and it became the medium of communication between the British official and the people of the country. Robert Knox conversed in Portuguese with the Dutch officials in Dutch times. " Though this dialect be considered as the most vulgar of any, yet it is a very useful and even necessary acquisition, as in most of the settlements of the coast, particularly those which have been in the possession of the Dutch, it is common to meet with both Moors and Malabars who speak it. In Ceylon it is particularly useful to be understood."[7] When Governor North sent his embassy to Kandy a Portuguese-Sinhalese Interpreter accompanied the party.

" The king directed his speech to the Adigar, who stood on the step below the throne, and who repeated His Majesty's words to the Maha Moodeliar, who had come up with the embassy as Cinglese interpreter. The latter in his turn gave it in Portuguese to Monsieur Joinville, who had also been sent up by Governor North to interpret from that language, and who repeated it in French to General Macdowal."[8]

It was mainly through this Ceylon Dialect that Portuguese words infiltrated into colloquial Sinhalese. Many Indian and Dutch words have come down to us through this medium and bear traces of the passage. When the English arrived in Ceylon, Portuguese words were already in possession,[9] and though some words

5. Tennent, 1. c.

6. Dalgado, "*Dialecto Indo-Portugez de Ceilao* 78-85. Cf also *C.L.R.* II. 100-104, 108-111, for a list of the publications of the Printing Press of Colombo, over the well known initials " J.P.L.:" and *O Oriente Portugez*, III.

7. Percival 115. So also said Thumberg (1777), *C.L.R.* I. 24, Schouten (1676), *C.L.R.* LV 77, who found it not only useful but necessary.

8. Percival, 408.

9. Most of the Ceylon Place Names (English) are survivals from the Portuguese, e.g Ceylon, Colombo, Point de Galle, Point Pedro, Negombo, Chilaw, Jaffna, Batticaloa, Kandy Adam's Peak, Great and Little Basses, etc.

began to be affected by the English pronunciation, the Portuguese word kept the colloquial ground. Moreover, quite a number of Portuguese words had already been absorbed into Anglo-Indian English, as the bulky volume of *Hobson-Jobson* testifies; and Creole words were intelligible to the Anglo-Indian officials who first came to rule the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon.

No scientific study of the influence of Portuguese on Sinhalese has ever been attempted. Louis Nell and A. E. Buultjens gave lists of Portuguese words in Sinhalese in the *Orientalist*,[10] and Mudaliyar A. M. Gunasekara has embodied them in his *List of Sinhalese words derived from the Portuguese.*[11] The veteran Sanskrit Professor of Lisbon, Monseigneur S. Rodolpho Dalgado, a few years ago, crowned his previous studies on Indo-Portuguese Dialects by an erudite treatise on the influence of the Portuguese vocabulary on Asiatic Languages, "*Influençia do Vocabulario Portuguez em Linguas Asiaticas, por Mons. S. Rodolpho Dalgado da Academia das Sciencias de Lisboa—Coimbra—Imprensa de Universidade.* 1913." As the author of the *Dialecto Indo Portuguez de Ceilao*, and one who has preached in Colombo in Ceylon Portuguese, Mons. Dalgado was singularly qualified for the task. All these works I have laid under contribution, besides a manuscript Portuguese-Tamil-Sinhalese Dictionary, composed by an Oratorian priest, now in the library of the Archbishop of Colombo—"*Vocabulario ordenado Para os que se applicao ao Tamul e Chingª, Começando Pello Portuguez, proseguido pello Tamul, e accabado pello Chingala. Pello Pe Eusebio do Rozario da congregacao do Oratorio de Goa. No anno de* 1772;" and "*A dictionary of the Ceylon Portuguese, Sinhalese and English languages* by William Buckley Fox, Wesleyan Missionary, to which is prefixed a Compendium of the Ceylon-Portuguese Language. Colombo Wesleyan Mission Press, 1819."

The following list makes no pretension to linguistic research, but merely to give a list of words apparently of Portuguese origin, noted from time to time. I have included in the list all words which appear to bear indications of having passed through the Ceylon Creole, even though ultimately traceable to an Indian vernacular and occasionally to the Dutch.

10. Vols. II & III, which I was not able to consult. Nell's list was reprinted in pamphlet form (pp 58, Bombay, 1887). It is here referred to as "N." Both L. Nell & Mons. Dalgado died between the writing and printing of this article. R.I.P.

11. *Comprehensive Grammar of the Sinhalese Lang.*, sec. 253. For "Portuguese in Tamil" see an article by Father Gnana Prakasar in the *Ceylon Antiquary*.

The subject, I am aware, is beset with pitfalls. Tennent for instance gave "Galle Buck" (Sinhalese, *Galbocca*, Port. *Galvoca*, Dutch *Calhio Boca*) a Dutch derivation, and to Cambaya a Chinese origin. Mr. Denham in his *Census Report for* 1911, credited the Dutch with giving the Sinhalese language the word *Goraka*, from Dutch *Agurkje*! He also penetrated the etymological atrocity that Pass Betal (Sinh. Wattala P. Betal) "means the pass at which yau pay" Pas Betalen (*Census Report* 154). It would be vain to pretend that I have kept clear of such errors. My list is humbly submitted to the correction of the learned.

1 **Achcháru,** අච්චාරු "Pickles." *Achár.*

This is an Indian word. Persian *Achár*. Garcia da Orta (1563) uses the word.

2 **Ádilippu Palliya,** ආදිලිප්පු පල්ලිය (*Nossa Senhora de*) *Guadalupe.*

This is modern Wolvendaal (Wolf's dale) which is a translation of *Agoa de Lupo* or *Quia de Lu po* (Baldeus), *Acqua di Lupo* (Saar), which are corruptions of *Guadalupe*.

"Ádirippu Palliya stands on Boralugoda hill" (*Raj* 64 ; E. tran. 91).

Behind *N. S. da Guadalupe* was the "*Pedreira,*" (Quarry) (Couto and Queyroz 350,) Cf. modern "Quarry Street."

3 **Áduppuva,** ආදුප්පුව ? *Adufa* ("lattice,

4 **Ádippuva,** ආදිප්පුව Ms. Dict පැලැල්ල shutter.")

5 **Advogádu,** අද්වොකාදු "Advocate." *Advogado.*

6 **Agóstu,** අගෝස්තු "August." C. P.[12] *Agusto* (*Agosto*)

7 **Ajúta** අජුත "A game of cards." *Ajuda*

8 **Akomodesan** අකොමොදෙසන් Sinh. "Baḍaweḍili." *Accomodacaõ.*

Anglice *Accomodesan*. Queyroz uses *Comedias* ("victuals, meat and drink allowed to a king's officer") for the Sinh. *Baḍaweḍili*. Fr. Eusebio do Rosairo gives "Comedidas, *nindagama*" (Ms. dict.)

For the use of the word in Dutch times see van de Graaf's Mem. (*C.L.R.* I., 319). According to the Wellesley Ms (*C.L.R.* II, 133)the Mudaliyars received lands on tenure called "*Accomodesants.*" According to Cordiner (I. 19) "The civil and military officers were

12 "F" stands for Fox, *Dictionary of Ceylon Portuguese*, and "C.P," for Ceylon Portuguese.

remunerated for their services either by the privilege of possessing their own lands to a certain extent duty free, or by being authorised to receive a certain portion of the Government share from the lands of others. This license in either case was called *accomodesan.*" (Cf. also Nell, 10).

The Portuguese *aldeas de dispensa real* (Sinh. *gabaḍágama*) were called Anglice "*Dispense villages.*"

9 **Alavanguva,** අලවංගුව් "Crow-bar." *Alavanca,* "hand-spike, lever."

10 **Almáriya,** අල්මාරිය "Cupboard. chest of drawers." C. P. *Almari.*

Almira, "cloths' or book press" F. [12](P. *Armario*)

1815. "Kirikumbura Punchyrala, Unuwela Maha Mudianse, and Malay Mohm. bring....a curiously Carved and Painted Cabinet and *Almeyro*" (D'Oyly, 246).

11 **Almusu,** අල්මුසු "Breakfast." C. P. *Almuça* (*Almoço*)

12 **Alpentiya,** අල්පෙන්තිය "Pin.' *Alfinete,* from the Arabic *alkeléte,* through Castilian *alfilete.*

13 **Alugósuvá,** අලුගෝසුවා "Hangman." C. P. *Alogozo* (P. *Algoz*).

14 **Alukutteruvá,** අලුකුත්තෙරුවා "Pimp." *Alcoviteiro, Alcoveto* (Arabic).

15 **Áma,** ආමා "Wet-nurse." C. P. *Ame* (P. *ama,* "nurse, house keeper:" Masc. *Amo,* "master, tutor;" both used as terms of respect and address).

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16 **Ambatésta,** අම්බත්ත "Amethyst." *Ametista*

17 **Ándóruva,** ආන්දෝරුව "Kandyan Palanquin" (Clough). P. *Andor,* "litter."

There is an Indian word *handola* H. (Skt. *hindola*), "handollen" of the Dutch. The *Mahávansa* has *Andoli* (ch 88, v. 88).

18 **Anjus,** අන්ජස් "Angel." *Anjo*

19 **Annási,** අන්නාසි "Pine-apple." *Ananas.* The word and fruit are American, introduced by the Portuguese.

The English word "Pine-apple" existed before the discovery of America, and meant what is now called, for distinction, a "pine cone" (*Hob-Job*, 26).

20 **Anóna,** අනොනා "Custard-apple." *Anona.*

21 **Apontamentu,** අපොන්තමේන්තු "Copy, decree." *Apontamento,* "notes, rough draft."

"In Ceylon, in the practice of the Courts, *Appontamentu* and *Appertementu* are applied by Sinhalese litigants to the Copy decree. There is a little difficulty in deciding upon a Dutch or Portuguese derivation" (Nell). The Sinhalese word adopted from the Portuguese was adapted to Dutch legal usage.

22 **Apostulu,** අපොස්තුලු "Apostle." *Apostolo.*

23 **Ármosam,** ආර්මෝසම් "Furniture." *Armaçao.*

"This is in use among Sinhalese servants, at least in Galle, and is applied to the arrangement of furniture, the term being sounded very much like the Portuguese" (Nell, 14).

24 **Árukkuva,** ආරුක්කුව "Arch." *Arco*

25 **Árkuva,** ආර්කුව

26 **Arungóle,** අරුන්ගෝලේ "Ear-ring." C.P. *Argolinha* (dim. of *Argola*, "an iron ring.") Gaspar Correa uses the word in the sense of ear-ring—"nas orelhas *argolhinas* d'ouro" (quoted by Dalgado, 14).

27 **Átta,** ආත්තා "Custard Apple." *Ata* (*anona squamosa*).

28 **Attálaya,** අට්ටාලය "A hut on poles on which a watchman lives" (Clough). P. *Atalaia*, from Arabic *attallaa* "watch-tower," *talia*, "to mount."

The word occurs in the *Nikáya Sangraha* (text of 1890, p. 26 ; text of 1907, p. 23) ; also in the *Rájávaliya*, 27. (Cf *C. A. and L. R.* V. 73, for *Aḍḍalai*, Tamil). Regarding this word Father Gnana Prakasar writes to me : " The word, as in use in the North, meaning a watch-hut on a stand, may very well have come from the Portuguese. The word exists in Sanskrit, and in the Tamil *Rámáyana* of Kamban who is generally assigned to the middle of the 12th century (so Krishnaswami Aiyangar : *Ancient India*, 378) it occurs with the meaning of " a palace." Tamil *Rámáyana*, I. 32. In Sanskrit it is probably derived from *aḍḍa* ' high, lofty,' and is written *aḍḍala* and *aḍḍalaka*. The meaning is ' upper room, palace.' "

Cf. අටාලය, *Námávaliya*, 104; *Abhidhánappadípiká*, 204, where it is Englished " an observatory " and *ib.* 1126 " elevated stage."

29 **Avána,** අවාන " Fan." *Avano, abano* පවන්පත (*pavan-pata*) in Sinhalese *Námávaliya* (177)

30 **Áya,** ආයා " Dry-nurse." *Aia, Aya*, same as *ámá*, above. Anglice *Ayah.*

31 **Báchchiya,** බාච්චිය

1. "Jacket worn by women." Cey. Por. *Bajo.* " Sinhalese female's jacket," F. from the Malay *Baju.* " The Sinhalese women wear the *bajo* which they call *Báchchiya* " " (Dalgado, 65). Speaking of Sinhalese women Ribeiro says " tambem trazem *baju* e pano até ponta do pe...." which is translated : " They too wear a *jacket* and a cloth which reaches down to the point of the foot." Ribeiro's *Ceilao* 145. According to Pyrard the Portuguese ladies of Goa " clothe themselves with a large piece of silk which serves them as petticoats, and have also smocks of the finest silk which they call *bajus* " (*.C.L.R.* IV. 95). Anglo-Indian *Badjoe, Bajoo.*

2. *Báchchiya* is also used for the " jacket worn by men." Cey. Por. *Bache*, " Waistcoat," F. According to Castanheda the King of Ceylon " was dressed in a *bajo* of silk which is a garment in the fashion of a close jacket "(*C.L.R.* IV, 196). " The Malays of a higher rank wear a wide Moorish coat or gown, which they call *Badjours*, not unlike our dressing gowns....Their under dress consists of a vest of silk or calico, called *Hadjou*,..(Percival, 148.)

32 **Balanse,** බලන්සය " Scales." *Balança.*

"This Portuguese term is applied to a large balance and scales. The smaller ones are known as *Tarádi*" (Nell).

33 **Báldiya,**	බාල්දිය	"Tub."	*Balde*, "bucket, shovel."
34 **Báliya,**	බාලිය		
35 **Bambu,**	බම්බු	"Bamboo."	*Bambo.*

"There is evidence enough of its familiarity among the Portuguese before the end of the XVI century to indicate the probability that we adopted the word like so many others from them." (*Hob-Job*).

36 **Bandésiya,**	බන්දේසිය	"Tray"	*Bandeja.*

(1769) Wolf uses *Bandese* (*C.L.R.* iii, 67)

37 **Bankuva,**	බංකුව	"Bench."	*Banco.*

Knox calls a table "*masa* or *banglálé*" which Ferguson judges to be a hybrid, from the P. *banco*, "bench" and Sinhalese *leli* "boards." (Cf. mere.)

38 **Baránde,**	බරාන්ද	"Verandah."	*Varanda*, "balcony, frame of iron, wood or stone, before the window of a room."

The etymology of the word is very much discussed; Skr. *varanda*. "But the manner in which it occurs without explanation in the very earliest narratives of the adventures of the Portuguese in India seems almost to preclude the possibility of their having learnt it in that country for the first time." (*Hob-Job*, 965. Cf. Dalgado, 156-60).

In Anglo-Indian use the *veranda* was first "the open pillared gallery round a house." "Before each house, and connected with it, is a large open space roofed in and supported on pillars of wood. It is called a *viranda*, and is intended to afford a shade from the sun, and an opportunity of enjoying any refreshing breeze that springs up from the sea, without being exposed to the scorching beams from above." (Percival, 163).

In Sinhalese use this pillared gallery is now "*istóppuwa*" from the Dutch *Stoep*; the *Baránde* is the "parlour" or "Drawing-room" or what corresponds to such.

39 **Barsel,**	බර්සැලේ	"Bracelet."	*Braçal*
40 **Basam,**	බාසං	"Plate."	*Bacia*

This word is given in a list of "Some Portuguese words in Sinhalese" which appeared recently in a local newspaper. *Panjab N. and Q.* (ii, 117) mentions "Hindi *bassan*, dinner plate, from Port. *bacia*" (*Hob-Job.*)

41 **Bastama,**	බස්තම	"Walking-stick, staff."	*Bastaõ*, "cane, staff."
42 **Batala,**	බතල	"Sweet potato."	*Batata* (whence English "potato"
43 **Battala,**	බත්තල	"Cargo boat, lighter."	*Batel*, (*Batell* in Roteiro de Vasco da Gama, 1498).
44 **Bautisma,**	බොතිස්ම	"Baptism."	*Bautismo*
45 **Bayinettuva,**	බයිනෙත්තුව	"Bayonet."	*Baioneta*
46 **Bebadda,** / 47 **Bebe,**	බෙබද්ද / බෙබෙ	"Drunkard."	*Bebado*, C.P *Bebe*

Knox gives "matvechcha, මත්වෙච්ච drunk" (Jl. xiv. 170).

48 **Bensaru,**	බෙන්සාරු	"Bless."	C. P. *Benza, bence, bencao*
49 **Bentinna,**	බෙන්තිඤ්ඤ	"Scapular."	*Bentinho.*
50 **Bera,**	බේර	"Beira Lake."	P. *Beira*
51 **Bikkuva,**	බික්කුව	"In dress-making the Sinhalese use *Bikkuva* for a pattern cut to a point. Lacemakers apply it to points in lace" (N)	P. *Bico*, "beak, point."
52 **Bilin,**	බිලිං	"*Averhoa bilimbi.*"	*Bilimbin* (from Malay *bilinbing*, Anglo-Indian *Blimbee*).

"The *bilimbing*, or country gooseberry, in shape and colour resembles a girkin, or young cucumber, having five flat sides and a strong acid taste. It is used in making tarts and preserves. Of the tree which produces it there are two sorts. In one the leaves are very small and pinnated; in the other they are somewhat larger, and grow promiscuously. The blossom resembles London pride" (Cordiner I. 379).

53	**Bíralu,**	බිරළු	"Bobbin."	C.P. *Birlo* (*Bilro*)
54	**Bíspu,**	බිස්පු	"Bishop."	*Bispo*
55	**Bókkuva,**	බෝක්කුව	"Culvert."	*Boca*, "mouth, passage."
56	**Bónikká,**	බෝනික්කා	"Doll."	*Boneca*
57	**Bora,**	බොර	"Dregs."	*Bora*
58	**Boralikkama,**	බොරලික්කම	"Medal."	*Veronica*
59	**Borottiya,**	බොරොත්තිය	"Tippet."	C.P. *Barote*
60	**Bótale,**	බෝතලේ	"Bottle."	*Botelha*
61	**Bottama,**	බොත්තම	"Button."	*Botaõ*
62	**Bujama,**	බුජම	"Jar."	*Boiao*, "earthen vessel with two handles."
63	**Buliya,**	බුලිය	"Small earthen jars."	(N) *Bule*
64	**Búndale,**	බුන්දලේ	"Brush."	C.P. *Bonder*, *Bondo*
65	**Burume,**	බුරුමේ	"Gimlet."	*Verruma*
66	**Búruva,**	බුරුවා	"Ass, donkey."	C.P. *Burro*

"How did this word come into Sinhalese, which has a word *Koṭaluvá, garddhabhaya*" asks Dalgado. (33). The word is used only metaphorically. The *Búruvá* signifying "Jack" in the game of cards is from Dutch (*Boer*)

67	**Búsi,**	බුසි	"Wadding."	*Buxa*, "stopple, gun wadding."
68	**Chán**	චාං	"Plain."	*Chaõ*
69	**Chappe,**	චප්පේ	"Hat, cap."	C. P. *Chape* cf. *Topi*

The word *topee* or *chaupe*, which appears to be a corruption of the French *Chapeau*, being the term used in their (i.e. Black Portuguese) language for a hat." (Percival, 146).

70	**Chinéla,**	චිනේල	"Slipper."	C.P. *Chenella*, P. *Chinelas*

The C.P. "*Chiripos*" and S. *sereppu* සෙරෙප්පු are both from the Tamil செருப்பு "sandals."

71	**Chítta,**	චිත්ත	"Chintz."	C.P. *Chite, Chita,* "printed, a spotted cotton cloth."

Sáya ; P. *Xaya chaya* ; D. *saay,* "a dye-root that is used in the Coast for painting *chitse*" (Valentyn). Sinh. *sáyama* සායම T. சாயம் "dye from *cháya* colours." Anglo-Indian "Chay-root."

72	**Comparamentu,**	කොම්පරමේන්තු	"Compliments."	*Complimento*
73	**Dádu,**	දාදු	"Dice."	*Dado*
74	**Dán,**	දාං	"Draughts."	*Dama,* "game of draughts."
75	**Didále,**	දිදුලේ	"Thimble."	*Dedal,* (*dedo* "finger")
76	**Diskánsu,**	දිස්කාන්සු	"Rest."	C.P. *Discansa, Descanço*
77	**Diyamanti,**	දියමන්ති	"Diamond."	*Diamante*
78	**Dósi,**	දෝසි	"Sweets."	*Doce*
79	**Dusima,**	දුසිම	"Dozen."	C.P. *Duzim* (P. *Duzia*)
80	**Ebértuva**	ඇබෑර්තුව	"Vacancy."	*Aberto*
81	**Empradoru,**	එම්ප්‍රදෝරු	"Emperor."	*Emperador*
82	**Énduru,**	ඇඳුරු	"Dill."	*Endro*
83	**Éroppaya,**	ඒරෝප්පය	"Europe."	*Europa*
84	**Eskísiya,**	ඇස්කිසිය	"Writ." (legal). *Escrito* (Mudl. Gunasekara)	

It is rather from *execuçaõ* (*Fazer excecuçao* is "to serve writ").

85	**Galapatti,**	ගලපත්ති	"Caulk."	*Calafetar.*
86	**Kalapate,**	කලපටෙ		
87	**Ganchuva,**	ගාංචුව	"Hook."	*Gancho*
88	**Gradi,**	ග්‍රාදි	"Railing."	*Grade* "grating."
89	**Garadi,**	ගරාදි		
90	**Gástu,**	ගාස්තු	"Fees."	*Gasto,* "cost, expenses."
91	**Gavetta-pettiya,**	ගවෙත්ත පෙට්ටිය	"A box with a drawer."	*Gaveta*

" A Mudliar Interpreter of the Supreme Court at a Sessions in the Southern Province was taken by surprise on hearing this term for the first time. It is a small wooden box, and has inside a kind of shelf with a lid fitted to it." (Nell).

92	**Gérappuva,**	ගෑරප්පුව	" Fork."	*Garfo*
93	**Gesbara (Patiya),**	ගෑස්බර (පටිය)	" Waist-belt."	*Gaspa*, "piece of leather round the vamp of a boot." (Vieyra).
94	**Gintupitiya,**	ජින්තුපිටිය	" Gentoo (heathen) field."	

This is " the plain " of Couto, now *Gintupitiya Street*.

95	**Gorósu,**	ගොරෝසු	" Coarse."	*Grosso*
96	**Góva,**	ගොවා	" Cabbage."	*Couve*
97	**Kóvi,**	කෝවි		
98	**Gudama,**	ගුදම්	" Store," now used generally for Arrack " godown."	C.P. *Godao* " storehouse."

The word is of Malay origin, *gadong*, introduced by the Portuguese. Barros explains it " rooms almost under ground as a protection against fire " (*logias quasi metidas debaixo de chao por guarda do fogo*). " The Sinhalese found in the gardens of the King (of Sítávaka) many houses or godowns (*gudoes*) of *patacas*, (Queyroz,386). *Gudaõ* corresponds to *Bangasála*(බඟසාල, Skr. *bandasala*), a word which the Portuguese used (*Bangacal*).

In Anglo-Indian parlance a *godown* was a store-room (Percival, 101.) It is now used for any out-house.

99	**Gudiriñña,**	ගුදිරිඤ්ඤ	" Quilt, mattress."	P. *Godrim*, *goderim*.

The word is of Indian origin. Hindi *gudri* " the bundle of rags on which the Fakirs and the very poorest sleep." (*Hob-Job.*)

Anglice *Gudry*. Linschoten speaks of " faire couerlets which they call *godriins* or *colchas*."

100	**Guruduru,**	ගුරුදුරු	" Grease."	*Gordura*, " fat."
101	**Ingirisi,**	ඉංගිරිසි	" English."	C.P. *Ingres*

102	**Inteéru,**	ඉන්ටේරු	"Entire."	*Inteiro*
103	**Iskoíle,**	ඉස්කෝලේ	"School."	*Escola*
104	**Ispásu,**	ඉස්පාසු	"Leisure."	*Espaço,* "space."
105	**Ispiritu**	ඉස්පිරිතු	"Spirit."	*Espirito*
106	**Istále**	ඉස්තාලේ	"Stable."	*Estalla*

Teste Percival (120): "The native Ceylonese are very inexpert and ignorant in the management of horses." Bishop Heber says "The Cingalese have not the slightest idea of driving" (*Narrative* III, 147.) In fact, nearly all the words connected with the stable are Indian, introduced mostly through the Tamil.

Kudira-káraya, Muttu. a "Horse keeper." The word *horse-keeper* is an Anglo-Indianism.

Láḍam—"Horse-shoe" (Tamil).

Kaḍivalam, Kaṭakaliya, Kaliya—"Bit, bridle" (Tamil)

Sabukkuva, "Whip," (Hindi, Tamil) (C.P. *Chabuco,* Anglo-Indian *Shawbuck*)

Savári—"Drive" (Hindi, Tamil)

Kulappu-karanava—"Shies" (Tamil)

Nonḍi—"Lame" (Tamil)

Kaḍala, Kollu, "Gram" (Tamil).

107	**Istanci,**	ඉස්තාන්සි	"Company of soldiers." (cf Journal xxi, p. 189.)	P. *Istancia. Estancia*
108	**Istirikkaya,**	ඉස්තිරික්කය	"Smoothing-iron."	*Esticar* "to iron."
109	**Jagadara,**	ජගදර	"Jakatra."	P. *Jacatra,* now Batavia.

(*Raj.* 73). "He sent letters to *Jagadara* in Holland" (ඕලන්දේ ජගදරාවට). The writer of the *Rájávaliya* thought that *Jakatra* was in Holland. The translator thought that *Jagadara* meant a "Customs Officer or Collector. From the context it would seem to mean the Government." *Jakatra* was the capital of the Javanese Kingdom. The Dutch called it Batavia. According to Queyroz (778) Rája Sinha's ambassadors went to Holland from *Jakatra.*

110 **Jakettuva,**	ජැකට්ටුව ඇට්ටෙ සැට්ටෙ	" Women's Jacket."	*Jaqueta*
111 **Jalusi,**	ජලුසි	" Venetian blind."	*Gelosia,* " lattice."
112 **Jalis,**	ජලිස්		
113 **Janeja**	ජනේල	" Window."	*Janella*
114 **Janéru,**	ජනේරු	" New Year."	*Janeiro*
115 **Járuva,**	ජාරුව	" Pitcher."	*Jarro,* "jar."
116 **Járuva,**	ජාරුව	" Yard."	*Jarda*
117 **Yáruva,**	යාරුව		

(*To be concluded.*)

Notes & Queries.

TREE LORE.

Peculiar Potency of certain Trees.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired).

THE *kobónila* tree and the *peṭan* or "Goat's Foot" (so called from the shape of the leaf)are nearly allied, the chief difference being that the leaves of the latter are larger than those of the former.

The people of Sabaragamuwa, so I was told by Mr. A. J. W. Marambe, late Ratemahatmaya of Uda Bulatgama, are in the habit of carrying somewhere on their persons, generally the waist, a piece of *kobónila* bark to prevent them from being attacked by crocodiles. It is also used as a preventive against lightning, and even against a gun-shot.

When there is a thunderstorm "the old Kandyan people" used to run to one of these trees and bring a leaf from it into the house as a protection from the lightning. If there was no tree of the kind at hand,the next best thing to do was to throw an axe and some ashes into the yard.

The leaves of the trees are useful medicinally to cure sores or wounds.

It was Mr. Marambe's opinion that the tree was in some way electrical.

The botanical name of the *kobónila* is *Bauhinia variegata* (?) and that of the *peṭan*, *Bauhinia tomentosa*.

BOLTUMBE DEVÁLE.[1]

By THE HON. MR. H. W. CODRINGTON, C.C.S.

8TH January, 1922. (Sunday). To Pinnawala. Walked to Boltumbe Devále, which is in a poor condition: the Mohottála in charge is doing his best to effect repairs.

1. This note represents an extract from the Diary of the Government Agent, Province of Sabaragamuva, for the month of January, 1922.

A stout wooden chest in the *dig-ge* contains a mass of salt brought from Hambantota in the Kandyan period ; it is a hard mass about 4 feet long by 2½ broad and 1½ to 2 feet deep.

There is also a fine *udu-viyana* in which is depicted some piece of Indian history, presumably late xviii century, as the European soldiers wear cocked hats ; at either end of this are other pieces sewn on, apparently of South-Indian work, though there is a suggestion of Indo-China in the draperies.

The gem of the collection, however, is a model of the *ratha* or chariot of the god, in *lokada* ; this is a really fine piece of work and has the following inscription on the pediment :—

(1) සවන රාජකුලොන් තුග මුනුසං කැතවූ
(2) සක නරෙන්දුගන්ගේ ශ්‍රී සුඛ යකවිසියෙන් 1586[2] ක් ව (3) ළඳ

giving the date as Saka 1586 (A.D. 1664).

2. The date is given in old Sinhalese numerals.

COBRA LORE.

By ROBERT J. PEREIRA.

MUCHALINDA (Colloquial " Midella :" *Barringtonia racemosa*). Name of a tree : also the name of a cobra.

Under the shade of this tree the Buddha remained quiescent during the seventh week of the *Sat-Satiya* (the seven weeks during which the Buddha fasted whilst engaged in various exercices significant of the subjection of human passion and fatigue). At that period (the last month of summer) there was an unseasonable rain, upon which the cobra (Muchalinda) left its abode and entwined its body seven times round the body of the Buddha, while it extended its large hood over his head (*Maha Vagga*).

To quote from the *Selalihini Sandesa* (stanza 65) :—

" Thrice to the serpent chamber where good it is and meet
The image there behold thy worship to repeat ;
To wondering mankind's eyes it tells how by the lake
Of Muchalinda famed when fierce on Buddha brake
The seven days' raging rains from the directions falling
The cobra monarch 'neath him thro' all that storm appalling
Coiled round his massy fold safe shelter form'd and spread
His hood a screen protecting o'er the Omniscient's head."[1]

1. See Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 182. Reference may also be made to the *Wheel of the Law*, p. 218 : and Beal's *Catena of Buddhist Scripture*, pp. 48, 49, 417, 423.

A RICE REAPER'S SONG.

By H. Don Clement.

Now, touch, touch the rice stalks,
Full ripe and full fair.
Let the sweep of your scythes,
Glide gently as air.

Chorus :—

La ! la ! la !—lo ! lo ! lo ! l—o !
La ! la !—lo ! l—o !
(Repeat in descending and ascending cadence as sounds vary).

Now, tuck your *camboys* up,
Lest mud on them splash.
Roll up your jacket sleeves,
Lest scythe on them dash.

Now bend ye your heads down,
And throw back your hair.
Let your eyes be open
To save the young hare. [1]

Now, watch, watch me hold in,
With left hand the stalks,
And ply, ply with the right,
The scythe as I walk.

Now, lay down the first handful,
The gift to the Gods ;
Now, reap ye in good earnest,
The food of your lords.

Now, shout, shout for the Gods,
To hear we're reaping.
Oh, send us a good gift,
Worth while a-keeping.

Oh, send,—send us a gift.
That's plentiful, great.
That might well be entwined,
As rice in our fate.

1. Hares are very fond of breeding in the ripening rice-fields In some parts a great many young hare are found during the harvesting season.

SINHALESE PLANT NAMES.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired).

REFERRING to Mr. Petch's most useful paper under this heading,[1] I have found the following names used by the Sinhalese for *Lantana aculeata*.—

(1) *Gandapána*,

(2) *Nóna mala*, "Lady flower." (In allusion perhaps to the supposed introduction of the *Lantana* by Lady Barnes.)

(3) *Hinguru*

(4) *Raṭa Hinguru*, i.e. "foreign Hinguru."

(5) *Leṇtána*. This was in the Matara District. (The scientific name taken over bodily with Sinhalese.)

The Sinhalese and the Tamils have given names or nicknames to some of the more conspicuous trees which have been introduced into the Island from Australia and elsewhere, and have become familiar objects to them.

Thus the *casuarina* is called by the Tamils of the North, *Savakku maram*, "the Whip Tree," from the appearance of its foliage; and I have seen in a petition the *Ingasaman* called the "Go-to-bed Tree," on account of its leaves shutting up at sunset. I presume this was a translation from the vernacular.

I do not know whether native names have yet been given to the *Grevillea*, the *Eucalyptus*, the *Amherstia*, the *Flamboyante* and the *Spathodea*, but the Baobabs of Mannar and Delft during their centuries of existence must have acquired such a name (I forget it, but have a note of it somwehere.)

In novels about India one reads of trees and plants called by English residents by such names as

"The Flame of the Forest,"

"The Gold Mohur Tree,"

"The Padri Tree," which is, I think, *Stereospermum xylocarpum*,

"The Railway Creeper," (see *The Company's Servant*, "the inevitable Railway Creeper," p. 116);

1. *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol VII, p. 169.

"The Pride of India." This I have an idea is *Lagerstroemia flos-reginae.*

Perhaps Mr. Petch would identify these trees and say whether we have them in Ceylon—the last of course we have.

It is well to learn from a botanical authority like him that the Mahwa or Mohwa tree of India is not the Ceylon *Mi* (*Bassia longifolia*), but *Bassia latifolia.* Does the latter also occur in Ceylon?

The "Neem" of India is the Margosa of Ceylon, and the "Peepul" the Bo. I think the "Babool," with "its little dusky yellow balls" is *Acacia Arabica.* Have we in Ceylon the "Dhak," *Bactea* (?) *frondosa,* which is planted near temples in India, being a tree, "lightly foliaged, but bearing "wonderfully beautiful papilimaceous flowers." (My spelling of scientific names may be wrong.)

Mr. Petch mentions several of the scientific names of plants which have been adopted from their Sinhalese names. Is the scientific name for the *Halmilla* tree *Berrya Ammonilla*?

I have above translated "*raṭa*" when used as an adjective before the name of a plant or tree, as meaning "foreign." There are many instances of this use, e.g. according to the villagers of the Matara District there are two varieties of Jak tree, one of them being so distinguished; and I think the same applies to the Cashew or Kadju nut tree. I should be glad to know from Mr. Petch whether two species of these trees are recognised at Peradeniya.

Finally, what are the Scientific, Sinhalese, and Tamil names of the "Four-o'clock Flower?" and have we in Ceylon the "Ti Tree" which seem to be so conspicuous in the South Sea Islands as described in a book of short stories by Louis Becke?

THE TERM "SINGHALA."

By FRED SILVA.

IT may safely be stated that there is hardly a name which has ever been defined so recklessly as the name "Sin-hala," or "Sinhalese."

The most ancient name of this Island is "Hela-diva." The term "Hela" is a *Nispanna* or pre-Vijayan word, or, to put it thus, it is a word which had its origin in this island, that is, it

is not derived from any other language. And the language of this island was called "*Hela-div-básá*" or "*Hela-básá*," corrupted later into "*Helu-básá*" or "*Elu-básá*" and commonly called "*Eluva*" or "*Elu.*"

The terms "*Hela-div*" and "*Hela-básá*" are mentioned in books of importance. Thus, the name of the language and of the country being "*Hela,*" it follows that the people ought to have been called "*Hela-minussu*" or "*Hela-people,*" yet there is no mention of this in any book. It should be affirmed, however that "*Hela*" is the name of the country, the people, and the language.

Our history records that Vijaya and his 700 followers came from Singhapura, a place in Northern India. It ought here to be noted that there is a people in India whose names have the suffix "Sing," such as Jayathsing, Rahathsing, Prince Ranjit Sing, Prince Pratab Sing, &c. It is, I think, not extravagant to assume that Vijaya's complete name was most probably "Prince Vijayathsing."

I venture to think that in order to mark the new epoch or rather era beginning with Vijaya's arrival, a change was made in the name of the country's population by combining that part of the name common to the new-comers, viz. "*Sing*" with that of the indigenous people, viz. "*Hela,*" thus originating the term "*Sing-hela*" from which we get our "Sin-hala" and "Sinhalese."

In a word, the name "Sing-halese" is compounded from "*Sing*-hapur" and "*Hela*-diva."

THE DATE OF BUDDHA'S DEATH.

By JOHN M. SENAVERATNA, F.R.H.S.

IN a paper entitled "The Date of Buddha's Death and Ceylon Chronology,"[1] which I read before the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1914, I took the view, already adopted by Fleet, Geiger, Sylvain Levi and other eminent Orientalists, that the correct date for the *parinirvána* of the Buddha was not 543 B.C., which was the old traditional date, but 483 B.C.

In the same paper, however, at its conclusion, I took care emphatically to say (*vide* p. 273) that I was not so unreasonably wedded to the theory as to believe that I must necessarily be right.

1. C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. XXIII, No. 16, 1914, pp. 141-273.

And I added: "Good and sufficient arguments there may still be to prove its untenability, but those arguments have not yet been adduced. It will be time enough to give up my theory when its incorrectness has been demonstrated by something more than the bare opinion of critics, viz. historical proof."

Some such "historical proof" as I had in mind is now forthcoming; and, though it is still premature entirely to "give up" the theory I refer to, I feel that, in fairness to those who may have been influenced by my paper, I ought to give the widest possible publicity to what appears to be little known locally, viz. that the result of the latest researches is to support the old traditional date for the death of the Buddha, that is, 543 B.C.

This support is to be found in the inscription of King Kháravela in the Háthigumphá Cave, Orissa, as will be seen on reference to the authoritative edition of the inscription published by the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.* [2]

There is no need here to say more than that the inscription is a record of the royal doings in peace and war for 13 years of the reign of King Kháravela of Kalinga or Orissa, who belonged to the third or Cheran dynasty of that kingdom. The inscription is dated in the year 165 of the Mauryan Era, *Rája-Muriya Kále,* equivalent to + 170 B.C.

Muriya Rája must, as Vincent Smith says, [3] be interpreted to mean Chandragupta, and the era must have run from his accession or coronation, whichma y be dated in any year from 326 to 322 B.C. And the significance of the date of the record, *circa* 170 B.C., is emphasised by the reference in another passage to Nanda Rája having excavated a canal in Kálinga 300 years earlier, that is to say in 470 B.C.

There can be little doubt that this Nanda Rája is Nandivardhana, the ninth Saisunága king of the Puránas; whence follows that the dates for the two kings who were contemporaries of Gautama Buddha, Ajátasatru or Kunika (No. 5 Saisunága) and his father Bimbisára or Srenika (No 4 Saisunága) must be at least *circa* 554 B.C. and *circa* 582 B.C. respectively.

The Kháravela record, therefore, as pointed out in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* and admitted by Vincent Smith, supports the old traditional date for the death of Buddha, viz. 543 B.C.

2. Vol III, Dec.., 1917, pp. 425-507.
3. *J. R. A. S.* July and Oct., 1918,p 546.

EARLY BRITISH TIMES.

By C. HAYAVADANA RAO, B.A., B.L.,

WRITING of Madras Civilians in Ceylon service, Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired), enquires in the October (1921) issue of the *Ceylon Antiquary* (Vol. vii, Part ii, page 122) whether I can throw any light on the absence of the names of Robert Andrews and John Pybus in Dodwell and Miles' *Lists of Madras Civil Servants from* 1780 *to* 1839 published in 1839, and on one or two other points mentioned by him. On these points I propose to offer a few remarks.

As regards Dodwell and Miles' *Lists*, it is interesting to note what Princep thought of it as a work of reference. Writing in 1885 of its incompleteness he wrote thus :—

" Messrs. Dodwell and Miles prepared a similar list (now out of print and unobtainable) commencing with Civilians who were in the service in 1780 and ending with the year 1839, the date of publication ; but *notwithstanding its excellence, there is a want of completeness as a work of reference* at the present time to the general reader, thus rendering further work necessary, which it has been the object of the present compiler herein to achieve. The present register will, therefore, contain the names of Civilians who were in the service of the East India Company from the year 1741, at which date they appear in the Indian registers including those contained in Messrs. Dodwell and Miles' register of services, *with more complete information* and with the addition of those who have subsequently entered the Civil service up to 1862 and a few names given in the *Madras Almanac* of that year. . ."

One of the objects of Princep's book was to give more complete information than had been given by Messrs. Dodwell and Miles ; another, of course, was to include names up to 1826. This is sufficient reason why the name of **Robert Andrews** does not appear in Dodwell and Miles' *Lists*. It is to be feared it is one of those omissions which Princep had to make good.

As regards **Pybus,** there need be no doubt that he retired before 1780, from which year Dodwell and Miles' *Lists* start. John Pybus become Writer in 1742, and ended as Member of Council in 1768. He arrived in England in the " Hector " in 1768. Apparently he left shortly after his election to the Governor's Council.

John Bryan Pybus was apparently his son. He also entered the Madras service and served in it from 1807 (Writer) to 1820, when he died as Deputy Secretary at the Board of Revenue at Madras on 27th January of that year. I have been unable to trace where he lies buried. Apparently his grave is an unmarked one.

Lieutenant Thomas Young was apparently a *Military* Officer. As his name does not appear in Princep, I take it he was in the Military Department and in that capacity was probably Collector of Mullaittivu and Batticaloa. At present I am unable to say to what regiment he belonged.

Thomas Fraser, no doubt, died at Madras but the place where he lies buried is not known. Apparently he was connected with (? a brother of) Colonel Charles Fraser, who died in his 56th year, at Masulipatam, on 27th April, 1795, and lies buried in the Fort Cemetery there. One of his sons was Hastings Fraser (so named after Warren Hastings, at that time a Member of Council at Madras) who fought at Seringapatam and died in 1854, aged 83. Another of his (six) sons, was General J. S. Fraser, who afterwards became Resident at Hyderabad. A sister of General J. S. Fraser (i.e. a daughter of Colonel Charles Fraser) married Charles Carpenter of the Hon. Company's civil establishment at Cuddalore on 23rd May, 1805.

Carpenter's sister, Margaret Charlotte, married Sir Walter Scott on December 24th, 1797. Some of Sir Walter's letters are to be found in General J. S. Fraser's life of his father (see Cotton's *List*, Nos. 1297, 1639, 903, 299, 341, 2224 and 147). Carpenter left his fortune to the Scotts, his widow having only a life interest.

Sir Walter Scott's son, Sir Walter Scott, Colonel of the 14th Hussars, died at sea on February 8th, 1847, aged 46, and has a monument in St. Mark's Church, Bangalore. Writing of Sir Walter's letters, I might add that a few unpublished ones are to be found in a recent issue of the *Publishers' Circular* (October 1, 1921). No letter relating to India is, however, included in these.

Frederick Gahagan was a brother of Thomas Gahagan who was also a judge and died at Chittoor in 1833. Both were sons of Terence Gahagan, Physician General and Provincial-Grand Master. He died in London on January 21, 1814. Mr. Cotton notes the fact that while at Trichinopoly he initiated into Free-masonry Omdat-al-Omrah, afterwards Nabob of the Carnatic.

CRIES AND NAMES OF BIRDS.

By J. P. LEWIS, O.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired).

WRITING on the subject of "The Song of Birds," Sir William Beach Thomas remarks that the student desires with the natural stimulus to articulate expression to find actual words with which to construe the rhythm of the song.[1]

But this tendency is not confined to the student; it is to be found in every country, practised by the villager and by the townsman, the ignorant and the educated; everybody tries to render the song or the cries and the calls of birds in words of his own language. And in this way many birds have acquired names. They are known by names consisting of a word or several representing the note by which they are chiefly recognized.

The most obvious instance is that of the Cuckoo, and in Ceylon the example that most readily occurs is that of the *Kirala*, known to the English Sportsman as the "Did he do it?", for it often happens that when on a morning he has fired his opening shot at a snipe and missed, one of these birds immediately rises from its nest and circles round him with the jeering question continually repeated "Did he do it?" The name of the hoepoe too is onomatopoeic.

There are frequent cases in England and elsewhere where, though a bird has not acquired its name from its peculiar note, its cry has been put into an articulate form,—in which, reversing the maxim of Pope, the sense is made to seem an echo to the sound.

The cry of the "Yellow-hammer" is represented by the words "Little bit of bread and no cheese; little bit of bread and no cheese," and the French form is also onomatopoeic, though as Sir W. Beach Thomas remarks, "except syllabic, little appropriateness can be traced." Similarly the English rustic version of the pigeon's note is "Two cows, you stupid."

We amuse ourselves the same way in Ceylon. There is a bird to be heard almost everywhere which utters a cry, the nearest approach to the sound of which is conveyed by the words "You

1. *Macmillan's Magazine.*

pretty dear." This is, I believe, the bird called in the Central Province, *Kakkoṭu Kurullá*. In the forests of the Northern Province you may hear any day the following cries uttered by different birds :—

(1) "Captain Philpot, Captain Philpot."
(2) "Here's a croc ! here's a croc !"
(3) "Awfully glad, awfully glad, to see you stick in the mud."
(4) "Bitters for two, bitters for two"

Which birds these are I cannot say, but there they are, one adjuring by name a military friend, another bringing the existence of an objectionable saurian to the notice of the passing traveller, a third rejoicing in the difficulties encountered by his cart, and a fourth, a much more amiable denizen of the woods, making preparations to stand him a drink.

There are besides in the early morning the jungle cock calling for *his* particular friend "George Joyce," and the golden auriole coupling that of his friend with some order or report not intelligible to the mere human—"Jack Ohiya ! Jack Ohiya ! Yawwa !"[2]

I have heard in the forests of the Central Province near Alutnuvara a bird which from its incessant call is known by the Kandyans as *Boṭuva-Kapanná*, where *boṭuva* has the same meaning as *bella* = "neck," and the bird is supposed to be recommending or threatening some one to cut his "neck." To the writer the note seems rather like the words "See what I've done." The bird is also called by the Kandyans, *Kóna Kurullá* "New Year's Day bird," apparently because it appears or makes its presence heard in April.

The practice of putting words to the cries of birds is very prevalent among the Sinhalese, and several legends have been concocted in order to furnish a *raison d'être* for such combinations as have been appropriated to different birds. Here are one or two—I have no doubt readers of the *Ceylon Antiquary*, can furnish many more.

A party consisting of an areka-nut seller, a dealer in dried fruits, a carpenter, a cinnamon seller and a cook and his mother embarked in a boat to cross a ferry. The boat upset and, like the *patres conscripti* of the school rhyme, they were all drowned. Four of them became different birds.

2. Possibly "Jack, ahoy" but can there be anything nautical in these forests ?

The areka-nut seller became the *Keravaka,* the water fowl, that keeps saying "*Keppara pera puvak, puvak.*"

The dried fruit dealer, the *Diyakavla,* a sea-bird which catches fish.

The carpenter, the *Koṭṭoruvá,* the wood-cutter which taps trees.

The carpenter on the other hand joined the insect tribe and became a mosquito which keeps singing "*Kurun Kurun,*" and the cook reappeared as a jackal, calling for his mother "Hokki, Hokki," that having been her name, while Hokki herself as a *Kobeyiya* or ash-dove is perpetually searching for her "golden son"—"*Ratran putá, Kó, Kó.*"

There is another story of an old woman whose four sons went to fell a tree, each with an axe. The tree came down on them and killed the lot. The sad news was broken to her by a neighbour, but all she said was "Where are my four axes ?" On this account the gods turned her into a bird which keeps on continually repeating these words.—"*Kó poru hatara,*" "Where are my four axes ?" (Query, which is this bird ?)

Literary Register.

IN CEYLON A CENTURY AGO.

The Proceedings of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society.

WITH NOTES BY T. PETCH.

IN Great Britain the closing years of the Eighteenth century and the beginning of the Nineteenth were remarkable for a wide-spread interest in Natural History. The publication of the *Systema Naturae* of Linnaeus appears to have provided the initial stimulus, and from that base the collecting and cataloguing of all natural objects rapidly progressed. The preliminary work could quite well be accomplished by any one interested in Natural History, and the pursuit became a fashionable one. Permanent evidence of its popularity is afforded by the numerous works on Natural History, illustrated with coloured plates, which were published during that era and apparently found a ready sale ; at the present day, in spite of modern improvements in illustration, scarcely any publisher would be prepared to take such risks.

In Ceylon, evidences of this enthusiasm for Natural History among the members of the British community are not wanting. Lady Barnes amused herself with the formation of a private Museum. Sir Hardinge Giffard, Chief Justice, collected minerals, and possessed a lapidary's bench. General Macdowall interested himself in Horticulture. The Army Medical Officers made private collections, wrote papers on scientific subjects, and subsequently founded a Museum ; and the Royal Botanic Gardens were instituted, in 1812, through the exertions of Sir Alexander Johnstone.

This activity naturally found expression in the formation of a Society, and, in 1820, there appeared "The Ceylon Literary Society," which, notwithstanding its title, was in the main a Natural History Society. Subsequently, it changed its name to "The Literary and Agricultural Society," but, though it embraced literary and archaeological subjects, Natural History and Agriculture always predominated. This is in striking contrast to the general course of affairs in such societies at the present day, for it is almost universally found that when Archaeology is admitted Natural History disappears.

The Proceedings of this Society were carefully recorded by its Secretary, and the original manuscript is still in existence. It apparently fell into the hands of William Ferguson (*ob.* 1887), who, during the middle of the last century, was acknowledged to have a prescriptive right to all documents relating to Ceylon Botany and Agriculture. After his death, it passed to the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch) and is now in the Society's Library. Though the record possesses little value as regards Natural History, it is of considerable interest for the sidelights it throws upon the activities and personalities of the European community during early British times, and its publication may perhaps afford information of value to the historians of that period.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CEYLON LITERARY SOCIETY.

Proceedings at a Meeting held at the King's House in Colombo, on Monday, the 17th December, 1820.

A Plan for the formation of a Society to be called the "Ceylon Literary Society" having circulated throughout the Island of the following tenor:—

Preliminary Circular.

"Under the patronage of the Honorable the Lieutenant-Governor.

"Plan for the formation of a Society for investigating the Natural and Civil History, Geography, etc., of Ceylon.

"To a country nearly unprovided with manufactures, and depending almost entirely upon its natural productions, the in-

vestigation of its Natural History must be of the highest importance.

"And a Government separated from the great mass of its subjects by a total dissimilitude of language and customs must anxiously desire to cultivate an intimate acquaintance with the Moral and Civil History of the people over whom it presides.

"Ceylon and its Government are thus circumstanced. With the most abundant materials for enriching science, its Natural History has hitherto been but slightly examined; where individuals have been industrious, the results remain locked up in manuscripts and cabinets; and notwithstanding the most anxious efforts of the British Government to obtain information respecting the ancient History, original Institutes, Laws and Customs of the Island, scarcely anything is now known more than the scanty opportunities of Robert Knox enabled him to collect one hundred and fifty years ago.

"With every motive, moral and political, for seeking and diffusing information upon these important topics so obviously presenting themselves, it is believed to be only necessary to suggest a mode by which these objects can be attained, to render the co-operation of those who regard the prosperity of Ceylon, certain and effectual.

"It is, therefore, proposed to form a Society for the investigation of the Natural and Civil History of this Island, to be called the Ceylon Literary Society.

"And as it is probable that experience will suggest rules for the Government of such an Institution better adapted to advance its purposes than could be framed on any previous consideration, the following outline of the Constitution of the Society will perhaps be sufficient for the present.

"Plan of the Society.

"All Gentlemen of His Majesty's Service, Civil and Military, to be invited to become Members in the first instance, their assent to be signified by signing a copy of this proposal.

"Each Member to pay a subscription of.....Rix dollars in advance, and.....annually.

"On the first day of December next, if Twenty Gentlemen shall have given in their names, the Society shall be considered as formed, and a Meeting shall be called for the election of Vice-Presidents, a Managing Committee, a Treasurer and Secretary.

"His Honour The Lieutenant-Governor has condescended to become Patron of the Society, and is proposed as the first President.

"The Vice-Presidents.....in number, to be elected by nomination of the Members present at the first Meeting, and the other Members of the Committee to be elected by ballot.

"The President, or in his absence a Vice-President, to preside at each Meeting of the Society or its Committee.

"All persons wishing to become members after the first Meeting to be balloted for by the Society, being proposed at one Meeting and balloted for the next, a majority of those present being sufficient for election.

"All persons of respectability of whatever nation to be eligible.

"The Committee to meet on each fortnight.

"The Society at large once in each month.

Objects of the Society.

"The objects to which the attention of the Society should be in general directed seem to be

1st.—The Geography, Geology, and Mineralogy of Ceylon.

2ndly.—Its Botany, perhaps the richest and least exhausted of any in the world. In this branch, the History of the Cinnamon tree; the various Palms so important to the sustenance of the people; the Rice and numerous other kinds of Grains cultivated in the Island; the Modes of improving Agriculture, will deserve very particular investigation.

3rdly.—The Fishes of Ceylon, so various and yet almost undescribed; its Conchology, in which the Trincomalie and Manar Districts particularly are so abundant; its Quadrupeds, Birds, Insects, and Amphibia including Serpents, afford subjects highly important for consideration.

4thly.—For the Study of Civil History, Language and Customs of the people, the facility of communication with the Kandyans offers advantages not hitherto enjoyed; and as the active Curiosity of the Members will probably furnish to the Society much to illustrate the Antiquities and Topography of the Country as well as the other points to which its labours will be directed, the establishment of a Museum, which is proposed as part of the System, will serve to bring together specimens applicable to all these various heads, contributions to which should be earnestly solicited from the public at large.

"The Fund to be raised by subscription of all the Members will be applicable to the hire of a House, for the Meetings of the Society and for its Museum (unless it should please Government in patronage of the Plan to assign it a building gratuitously for these purposes), to the salary of a Draughtsman, a Book-keeper,

and a small number of household servants, the purchase of necessary furniture, and rewards to such persons as should be induced to bring in specimens in the hope of such compensation.

"Such is proposed as the outline of the Rules and Objects of the Society it is wished to establish. They must, of course, stand open to discussion, addition, and amendment at the first meeting of the Members, before they can be considered as the permanent Rules of the Society, and must also continue liable to such future improvements as experience shall authorize."

And 51 Gentlemen (of whom a List is annexed) having signified their desire to become Members thereof, this meeting was called for the purpose of determining on the rules of the Society and electing its Officers.

The Honourable The Lieutenant-Governor[1] having been requested and having condescended to take the chair, the following Resolutions were thereupon proposed and adopted:—

Rules of the Society.

1. That it appearing that Fifty-one Gentlemen, including those now present, have acceded to the Plan circulated for forming the Ceylon Literary Society, the Society is hereby declared to be constituted on the principles and for the purposes set forth in that Plan.

2. That His Honour The Lieutenant-Governor having been pleased to become Patron of the Society is hereby declared to be its Patron and President.

3. That George Lusignan, Esqr., be Secretary to this Society.

4. That John Deane, Esqr., be requested to be Treasurer of this Society.

5. That The Hon'ble The Puisne Justice and such Members of His Majesty's Council, as are also Members of this Society, together with The Hon'ble and Venerable the Archdeacon of Colombo, and Charles Farrell, Esqr., M.D., be the Six Vice-Presidents of this Society.

6. That this Society do forthwith proceed to ballot for fifteen Members to form a General Committee for managing the concerns of this Society.

7. That the General Committee, when appointed, be divided into Three Sub-Committees of Five Members each to be called

(1) The Sub-Committee of Natural History and Agriculture.

1. Sir Edward Barnes.

(2) The Sub-Committee of Geology, Mineralogy and Geography.

(3) The Sub-Committee of Civil History, Languages and Antiquities.

8. That at each Meeting of the Society, the President or in his absence a Vice-President do take the Chair.

9. That at each Meeting of the General Committee, a Vice-President and Seven Members be necessary to form a quorum.

10. That for the present, the entering subscription to be paid by each Member be fixed at Twenty Rds., and the Annual Subscriptions at Thirty Rds., the rate of subscription being subject to such alteration as may be hereafter found necessary by this Society.

11. That the entering subscriptions of the members now forming the Society be paid to the Treasurer on or before the first Monday in January, 1821, and the annual subscription on the 1st July of each year.

12. That the Society at large do meet on the first Monday, and the General Committee on the third Monday of each month, and at such other times as may be convenient.

13. That such natives of respectability as may be desirous to become Honorary Members of the Society be eligible to be admitted, not paying any subscription nor being eligible to be Members of the Committee, but being invited, to contribute either information or Specimens of Natural History, etc., at their pleasure, and being also admitted to the Museum of the Society when formed.

14. That the Committee of Management for each year be appointed at the first General Meeting in the year; but that the Committee now appointed continue till the first Meeting in 1822.

15. That the following gentlemen, having the majority of votes, on ballot, form the Committee :—

Lieut.-Col. Wright	John Deane, Esqr.
Lieut.-Col. Walker	Major Delatre
Dr. Dwyer	J. G. Forbes, Esqr.
Wm. Granville, Esqr.	Revd. C. Lyon
Alex. Moon, Esqr.	H. A. Marshall, Esqr.
Geo. Turnour, Esqr.	Lieutenant Gascoygne
Revd. J. G. Glenie	Lieut.-Col. Hamilton

Lieutenant Thompson.

16. That the Committee do meet next Monday at the Chamber of the Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court,[2] and that the Secretary be of all Committees.

17. That Mons. Leschenault de Latour,[3] Naturalist of His Most Christian Majesty, be elected an Honorary Member of this Society.

18. That the proceedings of this Meeting be inserted in the Gazette.

List of the Members of the Literary Society on the 11th December, 1820 :—

The Hon'ble Major-General Sir Edward Barnes, Patron and President.

The Hon. Sir Hardinge Giffard
The Hon. Sir Richard Ottley[4]
The Hon. R. Boyd, Esqr.[5]
The Hon. J. W. Carrington, Esqr.[5]
The Hon. and Ven'ble Dr. Twisleton
Dr. Farrell[6]
} Vice-Presidents.

Members.

Revd. A. Armour	G. Lusignan, Esqr., Secretary
T. R. Backhouse, Esqr.	Revd. C. Lyon
E. D. Boyd, Esqr.	H. A. Marshall, Esqr.
C. Collier, Esqr.	J. N. Mooyaart, Esqr.
Col. O'Connell	Alex. Moon, Esqr.
Capt. Dawson	H. Pennell, Esqr.
J. Deane, Esqr., Treasurer	Mr. C. A. Prins
Major Delatre	Mr. J. H. Reckerman
Dr. Dwyer	J. Richardson, Esqr.
J. G. Forbes	Simon Sawers, Esqr.
Major Fraser	Captain G. Schneider
Lieut. Gascoygne	Captain Taree
Mr. J. F. Giffening	F. J. Templer, Esqr.
Revd. J. M. S. Glenie	Lieut. Thompson

2. This appears to have been the usual meeting place of the Society. Sir Hardinge Giffard, Chief Justice, was " Deputy and Surrogate for the Vice Admiral"

3. Leschenault de la Tour. Bennett, *Capabilities*, p. 328, says he was naturalist to His Most Christian Majesty, Charles X. He was Director of the Botanic Garden, Pondicherry, and was in Ceylon from July 25th, 1820, to February, 1821, visiting during that time the interior and Kandy. He wrote a paper, " Notice sur le Cannellier de l'isle de Ceylan," and " Relation d'un Voyage aux Indes Orientales," 4to., Paris, 1823. The former is dated, Colombo, August 16th, 1820.

4. Puisne Justice.

5. Member of Council.

6. Principal Medical Officer.

W. Granville, Esqr.	E. Tolfrey, Esqr.
Lt.-Col. Hamilton	G. Turnour, Esqr.
Major Hext	Commt. Upton
W. H. Hooper, Esqr.	V. W. Vanderstraaten, Esqr.
G. Knox, Esqr.	J. Wallbeoff, Esqr.
J. G. Kriekenbeek, Esqr.	Lieut.-Col. Wright
Revd. S. Lambrick	Lieut.-Col. Walker
C. E. Layard, Esqr.	H. Wright, Esqr.

Proceedings of the General Committee of the Ceylon Literary Society at a Meeting held at Colombo on Monday, the 18th day of December, 1820.

Present.—

The Hon. Sir H. Giffard
The Hon. and Ven'ble Dr. Twisleton } Vice-Presidents
Chas. Farrell, Esq., M. D.

Lt.-Col. Wright	J. G. Forbes, Esq.
Lt.-Col. Walker	Rev. C. Lyon
W. Granville, Esq.	H. A. Marshall, Esq.
A. Moon, Esq.	Lt. Gascoyne
G. Turnour, Esq.	Revd. J. G. Glenie[7]
J. Deane Esq.	Lt.-Col. Hamilton
Major Delatre.	George Lusignan, Esq., Secretary.

The Secretary lays before the Committee a letter he has received from Mons. Leschenault de Latour, acknowledging the communication of his election as an Honorary Member of the Society.

Ordered to be entered on the Proceedings.

(Copy) Colombo, 18th December, 1820.

Monsieur,

Je recois avec la plus vive reconnaissance la nouvelle que la Societé litteraire a bien voulue m'associer à elle comme Membre honoraire. Je prie, Messieurs les Membres de la Societé d'en recevoir mes respectueux remercimens. Je ferai tous mes efforts pour me rendre digne d'une Institution dont les recherches concourreront puissamment à faire connaitre les productions aussi riches que variées de la belle ile de Ceylon.

J'ai l'honneur d'etre
Monsr., etc., etc.,
(Sgd.) Leschenault de Latour.

7. J. M. S. Glenie.

The Committee proceeds to distribute itself into Sub-Committees as follows.

Sub-Committee of Natural History and Agriculture :—

A. Moon, Esq.
J. Deane, Esq.
J. G. Forbes, Esq.
Lt.-Col. Hamilton
Dr. Dwyer

Sub-Committee of Geology, Mineralogy and Geography :—

Lt.-Col. Wright
Rev. C. Lyon
Lt. Gascoyne
Rev. J. M. Glenie
Major Delatre

Sub-Committee of Civil History, Languages, and Antiquities:—

Lt.-Col. Walker
W. Granville, Esq.
H. A. Marshall, Esq.
G. Turnour, Esq.
Lt. Thompson

Resolved that a notice of the following tenour be inserted in the next *Ceylon Gazette*.

"Ceylon Literary Society.

The Society is now ready to receive communications on the several subjects detailed in the plan of the Association.

It is requested that such communications may be addressed under cover to George Lusignan, Esq., Secretary to the Society.

The next General Meeting will take place on Monday, the 1st January next, at 1 p.m. at the Chambers of the Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court."

Mr. Russel is proposed by Dr. Farrell. and Lt. Yule, R.E., and Staff Surgeon Marshall are reported by the Secretary to have proposed themselves as Members of the Society.

To be reported to the General Meeting.

Adjourned.

At a General Meeting of the Society held at Colombo on Monday, the 1st January, 1821.

Present.—

The Hon. Sir Edward Barnes,—President
The Hon. Sir H. Giffard
The Hon. Sir R. Ottley
The Hon. J. W. Carrington, Esq.
Dr. Farrell
} Vice-Presidents

The Secretary reads the Proceedings of the last Meeting of the Committee, and reports the following additional Candidates for Admission as Members of the Society :—

Mr. Bulkley	Asst. Surgeon, 45th Regt.
Mr. Armstrong	Surgeon, 1st Ceylon Regt.
Mr. Hoatson	Asst. Surgeon. 2nd Ceylon Regt.[8]
Mr. Crawford Mr. Wilkins	Hospital Assistants to the Forces
The Rev. Mr. J. D. Saram	

Ordered to be balloted for at the next General Meeting.

On the motion of the President, seconded by the Hon. Sir R. Ottley, It was resolved that the thanks of the Society be offered to the Hon. Sir H. Giffard, the original proposer of this useful and valuable Institution.

Arrowroot.

A paper from Mr. Moon on the subject of the *Maranta Arundinacea* or Indian Arrowroot, and describing a new species of *Maranta* found above Hakurugalle in the Three Korles, to which he proposes to give the name of *Maranta paniculata*,[9] of which a specimen is submitted, is read.

Ordered to be referred to the Sub-Committee of Agriculture.

Horticulture.

It is resolved to request the Sub-Committee of Agriculture to take into consideration the state of Horticulture in Ceylon, and the means of improving it, also the means of inducing the natives to adopt a System of Agriculture calculated to insure them substitutes for Rice, in case of failure of the Grain Crops.

Resolved, that the Secretary do, on receiving any Papers transmitted to the Society, hand them over to the respective Committees to whose Department they happen to belong.

Adjourned.

At a Special General Meeting called on the 12th February, 1821.

Present.—

The Hon. Sir Edward Barnes,	President.
The Hon. Sir H. Giffard The Hon. and Ven'ble Dr. Twisleton	Vice-Presidents.

8. 1st Ceylon Regiment, in *Ceylon Almanac*, 1820.

9. This was the only species ever described by Moon, and, unfortunately for him, it had been previously described by Roxburgh in India. It is now known as *Clinogyne virgata*.

The Society proceeds to balloting for the admission of the Gentlemen proposed as Members at the last Meeting.

The following Gentlemen are in consequence admitted Members of the Society :—

Staff Surgeon Marshall	The Rev. Mr. De Saram
Lieut. Yule, R. E.	Asst. Surgeon Bulkley, 45th Regt.
Hosp. Asst. Russel	Hospl. Asst. Crawford
Asst. Surgeon Hoatson	Surgeon Armstrong, 1st Ceylon Regt.

The Hon'ble and Ven'ble the Archdeacon proposes George Nadoris Mohottian Mohandiram as an Honorary Native Member.

To be balloted for next Meeting.

Turtle.

The Secretary lays before the Meeting and reads a Notice received from Dr. Farrell on an Animal of the Turtle Species.

Ordered to be referred to the Sub-Committee of Natural History and Agriculture, whose report on the same, as also on the general Subject of Horticulture, is requested to be presented to the General Committee at its next Meeting on the 19th Instant.

The Society taking into consideration the absence from Colombo of 2 of the Members of the General Committee, viz. Dr. Dwyer and Lieut. Thompson, and the consequent inconvenience that might result to the Objects of the Society, resolve to elect other Members at the next General Meeting.

Monday, April 2nd. 1821.

Present.—

The Chief Justice
The Hon. J. W. Carrington, Esq.
Dr. Farrell
The Hon. Sir R. Ottley
The Rev. J. Glenie

The Secretary not attending, the Society adjourned to Tuesday, the 10th instant at 11 o'clock in the forenoon, of which notice is to be given in the *Ceylon Gazette*.

At a Special General Meeting called on Tuesday, the 10th of April, 1821.

Present.—

The Chief Justice
The Hon. and Ven. The Archdeacon } Vice-Presidents
Dr. Farrell

Lt.-Col. Wright	The. Rev. C. Lyon
Lt.-Col. Walker	The Rev. J. De Saram
Hosp. Asst. Russel	Lt. Gascoyne
Mr. Reckerman	Mr. Armour
Mr. Giffening	The Rev. J. G. Glenie
Chas. Layard, Esq.	G. Turnour, Esq.

The Chief Justice having been called to the Chair, he reads to the Meeting a letter he has received from Mr. Lusignan requesting that he may be allowed to resign the Office of Secretary to the Society, which is ordered to be inserted on the Proceedings.

My dear Sir,

In case I should be late in my attendance today, I take the liberty of addressing to you a request, to submit to the Society my request to resign the Office of its Secretary, which when I undertook, I had very little confidence in my ability to fulfil its duties.

Especially in the infancy of such a body, I apprehend it is essential to its growth, that the Secretary should be a very efficient Member, with talent to enter into most of the subjects of research proposed, and time to apply himself to them :—of the former of these requisites I have none,—of the latter very little. I therefore can only stand nominally in a situation which I consider requires active exertion ; and under this view, I think, it neither fits the interests of the Society, or my own feelings, to continue to hold the office that may be better supplied.

I remain, My dear Sir,
Very faithfully yours,
(Sgd.) Geo. Lusignan,

10th April.

Sir Hardinge Giffard states that he cannot but feel regret at the loss the Society must sustain by the resignation of Mr. Lusignan of the Office of its Secretary which he had filled with so much credit to himself and advantage to the infant Institution ; and therefore moves that the following resolution be passed ; which was unanimously adopted.

Resolved, that the thanks of the Society be given to our late worthy Secretary George Lusignan, Esq., for his zeal in promoting the formation of the Society, and that he be assured that we feel much regret that his accumulated duties prevent his continuing to render his aid to the Society.

Ordered, that a copy of the above vote of thanks be transmitted to Mr. Lusignan.

The Chief Justice then proposes to the Meeting that George Turnour, Esq., a Member of the Society, should be appointed to be its Secretary.

Mr. Turnour states to the Meeting his willingness to accept of the Office for which Sir Hardinge Giffard had done him the honor to propose him, and observes that he is perfectly aware that the selection proceeds solely from the circumstance of there being no other Member of the Society at present at Colombo, who has sufficient time, free from official calls, to devote to that situation, and not from any one qualification that he possesses to hold it; and that he therefore wishes to make it a condition of the acceptance of the Office, that he should be at liberty to resign it whenever the opportunity offers for filling it efficiently.

The above proposal of Sir Hardinge Giffard having been acceded to by the Meeting, he next suggests that Mr. Giffening, also a Member of the Society, should be appointed Assistant Secretary to the Institution,—to which likewise the Meeting assented.

The departure of Dr. Dwyer from Colombo having made a vacancy in the Sub-Committee of Natural History and Agriculture, the Chief Justice proposes that Mr. Hospital Assistant Russel should be nominated thereto, to which that gentleman acceding, he is elected accordingly.

At a Meeting of the General Committee held on Monday, the 16th April, 1821.

Present.—

H. A. Marshall, Esq. Hospital Assistant Russel
Rev. J. G. Glenie A. Moon, Esq.
George Turnour, Esq., Secretary.

Returns on Natural History.

Mr. Moon lays before the General Committee certain Forms of Returns he has drawn up, and recommends that the Committee should propose to the Society at its next Meeting to have printed off, and Copies of them sent to the Members of the Society at outstations, and to the several Collectors of the Maritime Provinces, and Agents of Government in the Interior, with the request that those Gentlemen would have the goodness to insert such Information on the subjects to which the statements relate, as they may be able to afford. Mr. Moon also proposes that it should be made the request of the Society, that one set of these statements should be returned by the person to whom they are sent within some given time, and that other sets should be left in their possession, to be filled up, and returned from time to time as further consideration

or observation may enable them to import additional Remarks on the various subjects these documents are intended to embrace.

The General Committee approving of Mr. Moon's suggestions, resolve that the Forms of Returns proposed be laid before the Society at its next Meeting, with the recommendation of the Committee that they be printed and circulated in the manner suggested.

At the General Meeting held on Tuesday, the 15th May, 1821.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir H. Giffard, Kt
The Hon'ble and Ven'ble the Archdeacon } Vice-Presidents

Lieut. Colonel Wright	J. Deane, Esq.
Rev. J. G. Glenie	Rev. H. de Saram
H. A. Marshall, Esq.	Mr. Giffening
Lt.-Col. Walker	Lieut. Gascoyne

Geo. Turnour, Esq., Secretary.

The Chief Justice in the Chair.

The Secretary reads the proceedings of the last Meeting of the General Committee.

Ordered that the Forms of Returns[10] drawn up by Mr. Moon be adopted, and the number of copies that may be considered necessary be printed, and that the sense of the next meeting be taken as to the best mode of their being put into circulation.

Turtle.

The Notice received from Dr. Farrell on an Animal of the Turtle Species, which had been referred to the Sub-Committee of Natural History and Agriculture, is again read to the Society, and ordered to be inserted on its proceedings.

Colombo, 5th February, 1821.

Description of a Turtle presented to the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor by Sir Hardinge Giffard, Kt., Chief Justice of Ceylon.

This animal is a Marine Turtle, the *Testudo Coriacea*, a species of Testudo, class Amphibia, order Reptiles, of the Systema Naturae of Linnaeus. The denomination of "Coriacea" or "Leathern" is given to it from the black leathern appearance of its surface.

It is provided with a Buckler, but is distinguished from all other Turtles by having no breast plate. The buckler, as in other Animals of the same family, is placed on its back; it is convex and rounded at the edges, but terminates backwards in a long pointed process.

10. Apparently no copies of these Forms of Returns are now in existence.

The buckler is marked with five elevated longitudinal ridges, along its whole length, that on the middle of the back being the highest. It has no covering of what is commonly called "Tortoise Shell," but is protected by a thick black skin, resembling leather, which is continued also over the head, fins, and tail. In this circumstance, this turtle bears an affinity to the Seal or phocine tribe of animals.

The extremity of the upper Jaw is divided, and forms two projections, into which the point of the lower Jaw, which is curved inwards, is received. This formation evidently serves for more effectually securing its prey when the animal seizes it. The nostrils are small and round. The internal part of the mouth, from the inner margin of the Jaws to the extremity of the fauces, is studded with horny Spiculae, moderately flexible, varying in length from a quarter of an Inch to an Inch and half, which also extend down the oesophagus and stomack to the Pylorus, or lower extremity of that organ. Among the uses of these spiculae, in the economy of this animal, is certainly that of preventing the return or regurgitation of substances it takes in as food. They may also have some affect (*sic*) in masticating and comminuting its food.

The flesh of this Turtle abounds with oil, and from being unpalatable is seldom used for the food of man.

This animal is an inhabitant of regions lying in the warmer latitudes of the earth. It is found in the intertropical seas of the new and old world, and is frequentiy met with in the parts of the Mediterranean Sea, which are exposed to a high atmospherical temperature. It appears that it was known to the ancient Greeks, and it is said that these people used its buckler, in the early period of their History, as the body of a musical Instrument, to which they fixed various strings, thus forming the original Lute or Lyre. Some Naturalists still describe it by the name of the "Lute or Lyre Turtle," and the animal was considered by the Antients as sacred to Mercury, the supposed Inventor of the Lyre.

Its dimensions are as follows:—

	Feet	Inches.
Extreme length from head to tail	7	..
Length of buckler	4	5
Breadth of do, at its broadest part	3	..
Length of fore fin	3	..
Length of hind fin	1	4

From the foregoing dimensions it will appear that the Turtle just described was a large one, but descriptions of still larger ones are to be met in Books on Natural History.

On the motion of Sir H. Giffard, seconded by Dr. Twisleton, it is resolved that the thanks of the meeting be offered to Dr. Farrell for his communication.

Arrowroot.

The thanks of the meeting are also given to Mr. Moon for his Paper on the *Maranta Arundinacea* and a new species of the Maranta discovered by him in the Kandyan Country; and It is ordered that it be inserted on the proceedings, and published in the *Ceylon Gazette*.

(Moon's paper appeared in the *Government Gazette* of May 12th, 1821.)

It is also ordered that the Secretary do ascertain the practicability of having Copies of this Paper in Cingalese printed for more general circulation.

Resolved that the Treasurer be requested to call upon the Gentlemen whose subscriptions are in arrear, to request payment.

On the request of the Rev. Mr. Glenie and Mr. Russel to be permitted to exchange with each other, the former as a Member of the Sub-Committee of Geology, Mineralogy, and Geography, and the latter as a Member of the Sub-Committee of Natural History and Agriculture, they are allowed to exchange accordingly.

On the motion of the Hon'ble and Ven'ble the Archdeacon, seconded by the Hon'ble the Chief Justice, the Lord Bishop of Calcutta is unanimously elected an Honorary Member of this Society, which the Secretary is desired to intimate to His Lordship.

G. Lusignan, Esq., and Major Fraser having the majority of votes on ballot to fill the vacancies in the Committee of Management occasioned by the departure for Europe of Lieut.-Col. Hamilton, and by the resignation, on plea of pressure of business, of J. G. Forbes, Esq., they are elected accordingly, Members of the General Committee and of the Sub-Committee of Natural History and Agriculture.

Major Fraser, Member of the Sub-Committee of Natural History and Agriculture and Lieut. Gascoygne, Member of the Sub-Committee of Geology, Mineralogy and Geography, are permitted at their own request to exchange with each other.

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THE CAPITULATION OF COLOMBO, 1796.

Some Dutch Official Documents relating thereto.

Translated by E. Reimers, Government Archivist.

With an Introductory Note by L. J. B. Turner, C.C.S.

THROUGH the courtesy of Mr. Reimers, who not only discovered, and made the following translations of, this valuable material, but generously placed it at my disposal, I am enabled to make some important additions to my article on the British Occupation of the Maritime Provinces, which was published in the *Ceylon Antiquary*, April 1918, Volume III, Part IV, pages 237 seqq.[1]

The material referred to consists of a manuscript volume which contains the official minutes of the Secret Resolutions of the Dutch Council in Ceylon in 1795 and 1796. From these minutes, Mr. Reimers has selected, for translation, passages which are relevant to the history of the transfer of Colombo from the British to the Dutch. In view of the gap left by the official documents which were hitherto available,[2] the material which has now come to light is of very great value, and may be briefly examined in its threefold relationship to what has been already known or conjectured, namely as

1. Hereinafter referred to as *C.A.* III
2. See *C.A.* III, 238, footnote 6.

(i) confirming the previous information; (ii) correcting it; (iii) adding to it.[3]

With regard to (i), the Secret Resolutions, as might be expected, confirm the official information which was already available up to November 12, 1795. It is also pleasing to record that they confirm many of the conclusions tentatively drawn from the doubtful evidence of Percival and Tombe, the chief of these being that the dominating feature of the situation was the strength of the British forces [4]; that there was no indication of any intention to capitulate till nearly the end of the incident [5]; that the presence of the Kandyans, and the possibility of their intercepting the Dutch outposts was one reason for the withdrawal of the latter.[6]

The documents also support the dismissal [7] of the charge of treason made by Tombe against Governor van Angelbeek, as they show that the capitulation was recommended by all the staff officers but one, and that its terms were unanimously accepted by the Council. At the same time, the Secret Resolutions, while disproving Tombe's main thesis, give partial support to several of his statements of detail. The numbers of the Colombo Garrison, for example, given in the documents [8] differ but little from Tombe's details, [9] the number of sailors being the same in both, the number of artisans nearly the same, while other differences, except in the numbers of Sinhalese and Moor companies, may be largely explained by the omission of the number of officers in the official statement. The names of the officers, as given by Tombe, are, in several cases, also given in the documents, though the spelling is often different. Thus, Tombe has Scheder while the documents give Scheede, some of the other differences being Van Hugues and Von Hugel[10]; Prosalot and Prophalow; Venagel and Villnagel; Hupner and Heupner.

It may also be noted that the reference in the documents[11] to Lieutenant Colonel Raymond's sortie is in fair agreement with Tombe's account, except that no mention is made of the attack being made at Raymond's own accord, and the inference is that this

3. These three classes overlap to some extent.
4. *C.A.* III 256 and *infra* 117.
5. *C.A.* III 247 and *infra* 117.
6. *C.A.* III 252 and *infra* 114.
7. *C.A.* III 255 and *infra* 117.
8. *Infra* 117.
9. Royal Asiatic Society Journal (Ceylon Branch) Volume X, pages 388-391.
10. See Lewis *Tombstones and Monuments* p. 80.
11. *Infra* 116, cf. R. A. S. J. 382.

was not the case, although one may be inclined to wonder why the Colonel's "unwearied efforts" were necessary. The death of Raymond is not referred to in the documents, and the mention of Captain von Reitzenstein's detachment is new. The correspondence regarding Negombo[12] confirms part of Tombe's statement on this point, while his mention of M. Sluysken[13] is corroborated by the documents.

With regard to (ii), the corrections in the previous treatment, which are made necessary by Mr. Reimers' discovery, are not as numerous as might have been expected, but there is one of considerable importance which has to be applied to the tentative conclusions regarding the political views of Governor van Angelbeek in the Article referred to.[14] As the new information on this point is, perhaps, the most important contribution to history of the documents now before us, it may be dealt with in some detail.

In the Article, it was suggested, on the evidence of Percival, and on the probabilities of the case as they then appeared, that the Governor, throughout the period under review, maintained his allegiance to the Stadtholder. But the Secret Resolutions show that this was not the case. They confirm the previous official papers in the statement that the Governor and Council had, up till July 25, 1795, determined to adhere to the Stadtholder, but the Resolutions of August 15 show that it was then unanimously resolved "that the Republic was the sovereign of her colonies and, accordingly, of this Government."[15]

The reasons for this change of policy are fairly fully indicated in the Secret Proceedings, the translations of which are given in the following pages, but it is worth while summarising the course of events from July 12, 1795. On that date, the first news of the change of the Government of the Netherlands was received from Tuticorin, which was then a "subaltern settlement" of Colombo, the officers in charge there sending Governor van Angelbeek a copy of the English *Madras Gazette* containing the information.[16] On this report, it was resolved that the old constitution should be adhered to; that Colombo, Galle, and Trincomalee, should be defended against the British; and that the other posts, if attacked by them in spite of the declaration of adherence to the Stadtholder,

12. C.A. III 252 and *infra* 113.
13. *C.A.* III 250 and *infra* 117.
14. *C.A.* III 254. 15. *Infra* 111.
16. *Infra* 100.

should be defended if possible, or, if the enemy's forces were too strong, that capitulations on favourable terms should be stipulated for.[17]

On July 25, 1795, the news of the change of Government in the Netherlands was further confirmed by the arrival of Major Agnew with the two letters referred to on page 103. The problems raised by these communications were so important that the written opinions of the Members of Council were called for,and the discussion on them was fixed for the following day.[18]

These opinions are recorded in the Proceedings of July 26, (pages 104-9 *infra*), and it was finally decided that a declaration of adherence to the old constitution should be made ; that the protection of the British should be refused ; but that 800 British troops should be accepted as auxiliaries.[19] The main object of this decision was to avoid a flat refusal of the British offer, which would have been followed by an occupation by force, and, at the same time, to secure that the Dutch remained masters of their possessions in Ceylon.

The next step resulted from the perusal of the London newspapers which Major Agnew had sent to Governor van Angelbeek, coupled with the action of the British commanders at Trincomalee in invading "the Company's territory with armed troops." The position, as it stood on August 12, 1795, is ably summarised by the Governor at the meeting of Council on that date (pages 98, 99 *infra*). The new point which is emphasised here is that the change of the constitution of the Netherlands, instead of being a "French usurpation" as was, apparently, supposed previously, is shown by Major Agnew's newspapers to have been effected with the consent of the majority of the people of Holland. This, apparently, suggests the question, which does not appear to have arisen before, as to what was to be done if a French fleet arrived with orders that they were to be received as allies of the new Government in the Netherlands. The alternatives of adhering to the arrangement entered to with the British, or of their repudiation and the recognition of the new Republic as the sovereign authority, are fully considered. Either alternative is "fraught with the greatest risk, and we cannot choose between them without exposing ourselves to the greatest danger and the most grievous consequences, whereof the outcome or end cannot be determined by any human wisdom,

17. Ib. 102 18. Ib. 103.
19. *Ib.* 108.

seeing that it depended on the issue of the war between Great Britain and France." The question was further discussed at a meeting held on August 15, 1795, [20] and it was finally decided that the Republic should be acknowledged as the sovereign of her colonies "and, accordingly, of this Government," and that, as a corollary to this decision, and in view of the fact that the British had invaded the Dutch territory at Trincomalee, the engagements with the British should be broken off.

There is no indication in the rest of the documents that the Governor disapproved of this decision, or, at any time, desired to retract from it, and, in the absence of such information, the tentative conclusions in the Article, that the Governor had remained a supporter of the Stadtholder, are now seen to require amendment.

Some reference may also be made here to the bearing of the documents on Percival's statement that the collapse of the defence was due to the insubordination of the Jacobins among the Garrison. If the mutiny among the troops, which was to be dealt with by the military tribunal,[21] occurred among the Dutch soldiers—a possibility which might be read into the words "should it happen that the National (Dutch) Regiment and the Wurtemburgers were implicated in one and the same offence"—some support might be found for Percival's statement. It could also be argued that the Governor might, on grounds of policy, have omitted to mention this fact among the other reasons [22] in favour of a capitulation; while it is also to be noted that both Tombe and Percival make the statement that the Governor's house was fired at by the troops, after the Capitulation.[23] But it might equally well be argued, on these three points, that the military tribunal may have been appointed to deal with the misdemeanours among the native troops to which the Governor makes explicit reference [24]; that there was no reason why in the "Secret" Resolutions, no reference is made to insubordination among the Dutch troops, if this had been relevant to the failure of the defence; that Tombe does not make any mention of the insubordination of Jacobins, or of the chaos described by Percival. It is also difficult, though perhaps not impossible, to understand how a split between the Jacobins and the rest could have arisen when the documents show that the Governor and Council had transferred their allegiance to the Batavian Republic.

20. *Infra* 111. 21. *Infra* 114.
22. *Infra* 116. 23. R.A.S.J. 385, 410.
24. This view finds support in an untranslated passage in the Secret Resolutions.

On the whole, while it is possible that there may have been some disturbance after the Capitulation—an expression of opinion, perhaps, of those who agreed with Major Vaugine that some defence should have been made—and while the case against some of Percival's statements may be less clear than was hitherto thought,[25] his general theory is full of difficulties, and cannot be accepted till some further evidence in support of it is forthcoming.

The documents also correct some of the minor statements of Percival and Tombe. For example, Percival's statement that after the Capitulation, the Dutch troops were equal to those of the British is definitely contradicted;[26] his statement that the Capitulation was signed without the knowledge of the troops appears to require some qualification in view of the fact that nearly all the staff officers recommended surrender;[27] while Tombe's statement that the Governor had many means of provisioning the Fort appears to be contradicted by the documents.[28]

If we now turn to (iii), namely, the cases in which the documents provide information which was not hitherto available, we find that there are numerous new points of detail which have not been already mentioned. It is interesting, for example, to note that the benefits to be obtained from an advantageous capitulation were in the minds of the Council at an early date.[29] The shortage of supplies for the Colombo Garrison as early as July 26, 1795, has not hitherto been fully known.[30] The correspondence regarding the evacuation of Negombo[31] is new, and is chiefly of interest in that it supports Tombe's statements, and the emphasis laid upon them in the Article. The Governor's reasons[32] for the failure of the defence are the most important contribution under this head. They are, briefly, the following: the non-receipt of help from Holland or Batavia; the failure of the expected diversion by Tippu Sultan; the non-appearance of the French fleet; the failure of the native chiefs to supply troops; the repulse of the attack on the British at Mutwal; the flight of the Chalias; the desertion of Sinhalese, Moors, Sepoys, and coolies; an empty Treasury; a shortage of troops; the recommendations of most of the staff officers to surrender; and the overwhelming strength of the British. The

25. *C.A.* III 252.
26. R.A.S.J. 409 and *infra* 117.
27. R.A.S.J. 410 and *infra* 117.
28. R.A.S.J. 369 and *infra* 104.
29. *Infra* 102 30. *Infra* 104.
31. *Infra* 113.
32. *Infra* 116.

estimate [33] of the last item at 10,000 men, and of the fleet at 3 frigates, 13 three-masters, and five smaller vessels is also new. It is interesting to note that the first suggestion of capitulation, which is officially reported, is that made in a letter from M. Sluysken, the Governor of Surat.[34]

Summarising the position as we now know it in the light of the documents before us, we may say :—

That the surrender of Colombo to the British was unanimously decided upon by the Governor and Council on the advice of all the staff officers but one ;

That there is thus no question of treason on the part of Governor van Angelbeek ;

That a defence appears to have been contemplated till, for the reasons given by the Governor, the position was seen to be untenable ;

And that, while it is possible that there may have been disturbances in the Fort after the Capitulation, insubordination or Jacobinism among the troops is not proved to have been a determining cause of the surrender.

THE DOCUMENTS.

Secret Resolutions of the Council of Ceylon at a Meeting held on Sunday the 12th July, 1795.

Present: H. E. the Governor, Johan Gerard van Angelbeek; the Hon. the Chief Administrator, Dr. Christiaan van Angelbeek; the Hon. the Colonel and Chief of the Military Diederich Carl von Driberg; the Hon. the Dessave, Johannes Reintous ; the Hon. the Political Secretary, Benedictus Lambertus van Zitter; the Hon. the Retiring Trade Supervisor, Abraham Samlant; the Hon. the Fiscal, Dr. Johannes Adrianus Vollenhove; the Hon. the Chief Warehousekeeper, Daniel Ditlof van Ranzow; and the Hon. the Trade Supervisor-elect, Thomas Gerardus Hofland.

At this specially convened meeting of the Council, H. E. the Governor tabled a secret despatch from the factors at Tutukoryn dated the 7th instant, and a translated extract from the *Madras Gazette* of the 27th June last which was forwarded therewith, both reading as follows :—

Kolumbo

To H. E. the Right Honourable Johan Gerard van Angelbeek, Councillor Ordinary of Netherlands India, Governor

33. *Infra* 117.
34. *Infra* 117.

and Director of the Island of Ceylon and the Dutch Settlements on the Coast of Madura, &c., &c., &c., and the Council.
Right Honourable Sir,

We received, last afternoon, the *Madras Gazette* of the 27th June, which we have the honour to forward herewith, according to which it would appear that the Republic has concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with France, and that, consequently, England has declared war against the Republic. We have, therefore, requisitioned the barque, the Jonge Willem Arnold, chiefly to convey this important news to you, and have also, at the same time, shipped, in all haste, all the remaining packets of linen and completed bales, and all the cash that can be spared. We have also sent orders to Ponnekail that the linen goods recently arrived there—all that in bond as well as that lying outside the warehouses—should be shipped to you by the same vessel, but being uncertain as to whether this could be done without causing too great a delay, we have, in this eventuality, ordered Lieutenant Holm not to protract his stay there but to proceed on his course as expeditiously as possible. We would also point out that we possess no orders as to how we should conduct ourselves in the event of a hostile demonstration against us, and we would therefore take the liberty of begging Your Excellency for instructions as to what we should do in such a contingency.

We have the honour to remain, with all respect and obedience, Your Excellency's humble and faithful servants, (Sgd.) C. T. Ebel, H. van de Wall, D. van den Dreesen, F. C. van Spall, G. Keegling (in margin) Tutukoryn, the 7th July, 1795.

Translation of the extract from the Madras Gazette Extraordinary of the 27th June, 1795.

Holland has made a separate peace with the French Republic, the fortified places in Holland have been opened to French troops, and the Patriot party has suddenly assumed the ascendancy. The Stadtholder and his family have fled to England to seek refuge there, and it is reported in this connection that, immediately after his flight, the States General had abolished the Stadtholdership and accepted the French system of equality, also showing their ready acceptance of the new régime by joining forces with the French armies in order to prosecute the war; in short, that they have concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the Republic of France. On the receipt of this news in England, all Dutch

merchantmen, which happened to be lying in the harbours of Great Britain, were placed under instant arrest, among which, it is reported, are 12 East-Indian merchantmen with cargo estimated at five million £ sterling. It is not certain, however, as to whether these vessels were captured at sea, but the fact remains that they are in our hands. Nine Dutch ships of war have also found their way into our hands, but it is not certain when and where they were captured. His Highness the Prince of Orange has been obliged to flee from his ungrateful country, in a fishing-boat, to England, where he was received with all honour and assigned the palace of Hampton Court for his residence, and the Princess also arrived at Yarmouth, with her family, a few days after her husband. The payment of Dutch monies lying in English funds has been suspended until a positive reply should have been received from the United Provinces regarding their intended attitude in the war, and, especially, if it is their intention to join forces with the French, also if they have finally decided to repudiate the House of Orange and abolish the office and dignity of Stadtholder and Captain-General with which that house had hitherto been invested. An ambassador-extraordinary has been sent to Holland to demand a direct and categorical reply regarding these points, on receipt of which Great Britain will come to a decision as to whether she should declare war immediately against the Dutch Republic. Soon after the departure of the ambassador to Holland, a proclamation was published, and orders were issued to the commanders of His Majesty's fleets and to all privateers to capture and arrest all Dutch ships and boats wherever they might find them. Two Dutch ships of 64 guns, a frigate, and two other warships have been captured in Plymouth Harbour, and, in addition, 64 merchantmen in the various harbours of Great Britain. A ship belonging to the Dutch East-India Company coming from Batavia with cargo estimated at a million £ sterling has been captured off Cork. It is rumoured that a French squadron has been despatched to the East Indies, composed of 4 ships of the line, 6 frigates of 48 guns each, and several transports with certain French regiments which were shipped at Rochefort on board, but the date of their sailing is not certain. We are assured, however, that a British squadron of the same strength is following. Admiral Elphinstone, with several ships of the line, had sailed for the Cape of Good Hope in the beginning of March, and we may suppose that he will frustrate the French designs regarding that place. (written

below) Extracted and translated. (Sgd) A. H. Giesler, Sworn Translator.

Whereupon, after earnest consideration, it was agreed to and resolved, in case the news was true and the English attempted any hostilities against Tutukoryn, to make the following reply to their summons : (1) that we know nothing whatever concerning any change in the constitution of our Republic, and that we faithfully and steadfastly adhere to the old constitution of the same under the States General, with the Stadtholder at its head ; (2) and that this form of reply should be communicated to all the other subaltern settlements. It was also resolved to add in respect of Kolumbo, Gale, and Trikonemale, which, although they were not provided with suitable garrisons for a long and protracted siege, were, nevertheless, strong and defensible fortresses, "that we shall give over this fortress to no one but shall defend it to the best of our ability."

With regard to Jafnapatnam, it having been taken into consideration that the garrison there was too weak to offer resistance even to a moderate enemy force with any chance of success, consisting as it did of barely 300 men, and that no reinforcements could be sent from either Kolumbo or Trikonemale without weakening those important fortresses and exposing them to the greatest danger ; further, that if the place was stormed, all benefits would be lost which might otherwise be stipulated for by a capitulation : it was accordingly agreed to and resolved that the Company's representatives at Jafnapatnam should be informed that "they should be on the alert against any surprise, also that if the English attempted any hostilities, notwithstanding the declaration referred to of adherence to the States General and the Prince of Orange, they were to defend themselves to the best of their ability, but that, in case the enemy's forces were too strong, they should endeavour to stipulate, by capitulation, for a free withdrawal to Kolumbo with the Company's effects, the free right to private property, and, chiefly, the bringing away of the Company's records ; further, in case the Company's effects were with-held, that a complete inventory of them should be made and sent here."

With reference to Tutukoryn and the other subaltern factories, it having been observed that they were absolutely lost since the cash and linen goods had been allowed to be transported hither, it was agreed to and resolved that the factors should be

ordered to send, by the first opportunity, only the less valuable effects of the Company, which might be lying ready to hand there ; further, that they were to make the declaration already resolved upon, and, if this was of no avail, to capitulate at the first opportunity on the terms agreed upon in respect of Jafnapatnam. On the proposition of H. E. the Governor, it was further resolved that the company of Malays at Mannar should be summoned to Colombo to strengthen the garrison there, and that the Malay company which was stationed in the Wanny should be ordered to march to Trinkonemale for the same purpose.

Thus done and resolved in the Castle of Colombo (datum ut supra), (Sgd.) J. G. van Angelbeek, C. van Angelbeek, D. C. von Driberg, J. Reintous, B. L. van Zitter, A. Samlant, J. A. Vollenhove, A. Issendorp, T. G. Hofland, and D. T. van Ranzow.

Secret Resolutions of the Council of Ceylon at a meeting held on Saturday, the 25th July, 1795.

Presentibus omnibus, dempto Dr. J. A. Vollenhove, Aeg :

The Englishman, Major Agnew, having come ashore from the British frigate "Heroine" which arrived in the roadstead this morning, and having delivered two letters addressed exclusively to H. E. the Governor, viz, one from His Serene Highness the Prince Stadtholder dated Kew, the 7th February, 1795, and the other from Lord Robert Hobart, Governor of Madras, dated, Madras, the 7th July 1795, the same were communicated to the Council by H. E. at this specially convened meeting, both reading as follows, the second having been translated for the purpose :—

(Here follow the letters; for the former see *C.A.* iii. 239, and for the latter R.A.S.J. X 392-4)

It was thereupon resolved unanimously that, owing to the important nature of the contents of the letters, which required mature consideration, the discussion should be postponed for the following day, and that, in the meantime, in order to arrive at a ripe decision, the members should bring with them their written opinions, in order that the necessary measures might be taken according to the considered opinion of the Council.

Thus done and resolved in the Castle of Kolumbo, datum ut supra.

(Sgd.) J. G. Van Angelbeek, &c., &c.,

Secret Resolutions of the Council of Ceylon at a meeting held on the 26th July, 1795.

Presentibus omnibus.

The Council having met today after yesterday's adjournment, the written opinions of the members, in respect of the proposition contained in Lord Hobart's letter referred to and inserted in yesterday's minutes, were tabled, as follows :—

Advice of the Hon. the Chief Administrator van Angelbeek.

According to the unanimous references in the Madras newspapers regarding the state of affairs in our Republic, we may take it for certain that our government has been dissolved, the which, even if these English reports should not be relied upon too implicitly, is confirmed by the flight of His Highness to England from where his letter has been written. Matters standing thus in our Republic, we can be sure that we can look forward to no help or relief from there this year, nor, for the matter of that, can Batavia, from where, consequently, we can also hope for nothing. In the meantime we are put to the greatest hardship owing to the want of necessaries of the utmost importance ; our sick can no longer be tended in the hospitals owing to the lack of the most important drugs ; we have no money whatever ; and all our magazines are empty : so that it is with the greatest difficulty that it is possible to carry on the public business, which, in case no relief is received, must, in some respects, soon come to a standstill. I, therefore, think it most important that our critical situation must be considered as bearing on our deliberations regarding the summons of the English ministry to place ourselves under the protection of the Crown of Great Britain, as conveyed by Lord Hobart's letter, according to the tenor of which we should place ourselves unreservedly in the power of that state. For, although we are now provided with rice sufficient for our needs for a few months, it is certain that, if we offend the English by our reply and make them our enemies, the scarcity of rice will soon make itself felt, since it is in their power not only to intercept our supplies from Batavia, but also to prevent any supplies from being brought from Bengal and Coromandel. They could also, by taking Jafnapatnam, Mannar, and our stations on the opposite coast, which we cannot prevent, cut off our remaining sources for the supply of this most necessary article. However, there is no gainsaying that our acceptance of the summons would not only be at variance with our oath and duty to our superiors, but also with the terms of the letter of His Highness

himself, which only enjoins us to admit English troops and ships in order to prevent the colony from being invaded by the French. We have, for a long time past, admitted English ships into our roads and harbours, and, in my opinion, the admission of English troops could so far be consented to, in view of our present shortage of men, which cannot be denied, so long as these troops came into our service as auxiliaries. By so doing we shall fulfil the orders of His Highness our Chief Director and Supreme Governor General, and also indicate our willingness to abide by the alliance between the Crown of England and our State, and to oppose with arms the enemies of our Republic. Kolumbo, the 26th July, 1795.

(Sgd.) C. van Angelbeek.

Advice of the Hon. the Colonel von Driberg.

I am of opinion that there is no justification for delivering the Island of Ceylon to the English on the summons made by them. However, having considered the weakness of our garrisons, which can be seen from the report which I have the honour to submit herewith, I think that we should ask the English for a force of a thousand men, as auxiliaries, provided that this help should not prejudice us in any way. I lean the more to this opinion considering that the detachment of 432 men, who, last year, were sent from here to guard the Company's ships to Batavia, have not yet returned, and also because it is in accordance with the letter of His Serene Highness the Prince of Orange. Kolumbo, the 26th July, 1795,

(Sgd.) D. C. von Driberg.

Advice of H. E. the Governor.

All reports of the state of war with regard to our Republic agree that our Republic has been usurped by the French, and the flight of the Prince Stadtholder is the surest confirmation of this. The English newspapers also say that, if the East India Company has not yet been dissolved, its activities have been arrested, and even if this were not true, we can at least take it for certain that no ships will be sent us this year, and, consequently, no money, nor recruits, nor supplies for the administration of this Island. Batavia has equipped us badly last year, and, chiefly, not supplied us with the money requisitioned for by us ; and since Batavia, similarly no better off than Ceylon for the above resasons, is still awaiting most of her supplies from Europe, we can have little hope of receiving much help from there. Indeed, any prospect of receiving the money and other necessaries, chiefly the rice, must be regarded

as remote, seeing that the ships in which they were carried would be exposed to the risk of capture by the enemy. We now have only a five or six months' supply of rice, if we might reckon on our usual supply of paddy from Batticaloa, but we are so badly provided in respect of all other necessaries, that we shall shortly be in need of everything. Our scanty supply of gold, which was intended for our trade in cotton goods, will not avail us much if we should have to pay for the necessaries for the Government, and, chiefly, for the rice, with hard cash. As matters stand, we can look for no assistance or relief from any other quarter, except from the English, who, chiefly with respect to the rice, possess the power to grant or withhold supplies. Our attention, therefore, must be wholly directed to our present situation when discussing the two letters now lying before us from His Highness the Stadtholder and the English Government; for, if we flatly refuse to comply with the latter, we can not only look for no help in that quarter, but our supplies of rice from Bengal and Coromandel will also be cut off. This is not all: the threat of the English to take our establishments by force need not make us uneasy as regards Trikonemale, Kolumbo and Gale, which, although not suitably garrisoned by far for a long siege, would have to be invested with more important forces than the English could spare from their own stations on the Coromandel coast at a time when they were expecting a French Fleet; but Jafnapatnam, Mannar, and our stations on the Madura coast would, without any doubt, be taken at the first opportunity, since only a small force would be necessary for such an undertaking. We would lose thereby the important profits of the Commandement of Jafnapatnam, and all hope of a rich pearl fishery in the next two or three years; while our communications with the opposite coast will also be cut off. In addition, once the English set foot and established themselves there, it would afterwards be most difficult to drive them away. Further, in case of conquest by force of arms, the English would not be bound to make restitution, which is only contingent on a willing surrender. We must, therefore, devise a middle course and so word our reply as to avert the fatal consequences which would immediately follow on a flat refusal. On the other hand, it is obvious to me that the English, through their summons, secretly intend to take possession of our establishments in Ceylon, and although they promise, at the same time, that everything will be restored at the conclusion of a peace, we should not

place any reliance on these promises, since, according to the state craft in vogue in these days, pretexts are always found to repudiate the fulfilment of such promises. We should, therefore, so word our reply that we or our superiors should remain absolute masters of our possessions. With this twofold object in view, I am of opinion that the letter of the English ministry should be replied to as follows: "That our fortresses are suitably provided with everything necessary, and, therefore, do not require much strengthening, but that we should be happy if the Government of Madras would now be pleased to return the friendship which we showed them last year and send us a similar number of 800 troops, of which 300 should help to garrison Oostenberg, 300 the forts of Kolumbo, Negombo, and Kaltere, and 200, Mature, adding that we have not sufficient money to pay these troops, and asking that the English Government should make the payments and recover the amount from our superiors in due course. That, with this help, we believe we should be in a position to repulse any enemy force that might attack us, and frustrate their designs, and that this belief is grounded on the strength of our chief fortresses, our large garrisons, our abundant supplies of provisions, and everything else necessary for a vigorous resistance, and, above all, on the steadfast resolution with which our officers and men are animated to hazard their lives in a valiant defence of the establishments entrusted to our care. That, in respect of His Highness the Stadtholder's letter, we are prepared to admit the ships of His Majesty of Great Britain into our harbours and to be of all possible service to them. But, with respect to the proposition that we should place our establishments in their hands, that we should openly declare that we are bound by oath and obligation to maintain them for our superiors and not to resign the least part of them to anyone whomsoever. That His Highness' letter, on which My Lord bases his proposition, makes no mention whatever thereof; and that it would not further the object of the letter, since we are able, thank God, to defend the establishments entrusted to us against all enemy attempts whatsoever, especially if it would please the English Government to send us the troops asked for, and His Majesty's ships would be pleased to co-operate for the protection of our coasts and harbours." Kolumbo, the 26th July, 1795. (Sgd.) J. G. van Angelbeek.

Following on a scrutiny of the above-mentioned statements of advice, it was found that the demand of the Governor of Madras,

that the Company's establishments should be placed under the protection of his sovereign and be given over to his troops, was unanimously considered detestable and abject; that H. E. the Governor and the Hon. Members van Angelbeek, von Driberg, Reintous, and Hofland, were of opinion that only a certain number of troops should be admitted into our fortresses, but certainly not as masters, according to the intention of that Lord, but that they should be admitted into the service and pay of the Company only as auxiliaries on the same footing as the Company's troops when serving on the Coromandel coast as auxiliaries of the English. Whereupon, the members van Zitter and van Ranzow, who, in respect of this point, had referred in their statements to a certain condition contained in the 6th article of the treaty of 1787 between the Republic and England, whereby reciprocal help in wars against European enemies in India was stipulated for, and the Members Samlant, Vollenhove, and Issendorp, who had voted against the admission of any troops whatsoever, all now declared that they had worded their statements in the full conviction that it was the intention of the English to establish their troops in all our forts and to take over our own troops into their service and pay in order thus to make themselves masters of our establishments, but that they were entirely in favour of H. E's proposition to take over into our service and pay 800 troops as auxiliaries, the number sent by us as auxiliaries to the English in Coromandel. Accordingly, on all the members declaring that they were in full accord with H. E., it was unanimously resolved that the proposition of the English Governor that the establishments in Ceylon should be placed under the protection of his sovereign should be totally declined, and that no English troops should be admitted into the Company's territory, with the exception of only 800 troops as auxiliaries in the Company's service and pay, similarly as last year 800 of our troops were admitted into the service of the English in Coromandel, and that the letter of the English Governor be replied to as follows :—

(vide letter published in R.A.S. Proceedings Vol. X, pages 395-6)

It was also resolved, with reference to Lord Hobart's request as contained in his letter, that all further correspondence on the subject should not be addressed to him, but that our reply should be sent to the Commanders of the Sea and Land Forces before Trikonemale, that we should act in accordance with his request,

but at the same time, that Major Fornbauer should be sent copies of the letters from the Prince of Orange and Lord Hobart, together with our reply to the latter, in order that he might take his instructions accordingly. H.E. the Governor also undertook to send the said Major Fornbauer further particulars, in secret, as to how the English auxiliaries were to be received, and, with this object in view, to despatch the Undermerchant Francken to Trikonemale on board the English Frigate.

Secret Resolutions of the Council of Ceylon at a meeting held on Monday the 3rd August, 1795.

H. E. the Governor informed the members that, after Major Agnew's return on board, he had sent H. E., at his own request, certain London newspapers in which certain references to the Republic appeared, and that he had had them translated in order to communicate them to the meeting to enable the Members to conduct their deliberations in future with a fuller knowledge of affairs.

Secret Resolutions of Wednesday the 12th August.

At the discussion of the correspondence from Trikonemale, the Governor, after defending his action in sending Major Fornbauer a letter signed by himself alone, continued as follows :—

The question as to what we should do in these circumstances is so extremely important and so difficult, and at the same time so obscure in view of our uncertainty as to the consequences, that I can suggest nothing in respect thereof without first arriving at a positive decision regarding another question on which the former depends, viz: what should we do if French ships were to come and the French desired to be received as friends, and also brought with them orders from the new Assembly or Government of the Netherlands to that effect? Concerning this question, we must bear in mind that our secret Resolution of the 26th July last, according to which we decided to abide faithfully by the old Constitution of our Republic and the form of Government as established in the year 1787, was arrived at in view of the report of the state of affairs in our Fatherland, which is inserted in our secret Resolutions of the 12th July last, and which only referred to French usurpation. But since then, on the 28th of the same month, I received the London newspapers up to the 13th March last, from which I have had extracts translated for your information,

according to which it would appear that our Republic has indeed been conquered by the French, but that the changes in the Government were effected with the consent of the majority of the people of Holland; that the calling together of an Assembly of the Provisional Representatives of the people was the work of the Deputies of the different cities of Holland; that the abolition of the old form of Government and the Stadtholdership was the work of this Assembly; and that the States-General are now constituted as formerly, with only this difference respecting Holland, viz., that this Province shall be represented in the Assembly of Their High Mightinesses by the burghers Halm, Lestevenon and Loreq. If we should desire,for the above reasons, to recognise the new régime on the arrival of a French fleet, we should avoid all conflicting engagements with the English and, accordingly, not take over any of their troops; but if, on the other hand, we would abide by our resolution of the 12th July last, which we have subsequently confirmed by our resolution of the 26th and our letter to the English, dated the 27th, to adhere to the old constitution of the Republic as established by the treaty of 1787 and, accordingly, acknowledge the States-General with the Stadtholder as their head, we should take over 800 of their troops as auxiliaries and order Major Fornbauer, by a further communication, to take over 300 of that number. In case we adopted the former alternative and thus broke off all engagements with the English, which would conflict with our obligations to the new régime, we certainly now have good grounds for this course, seeing that the English Commanders of the sea and land forces before Trikonemale had summoned the forts on the 2nd of this month, declaring that any refusal would be considered as an act of hostility, and had also invaded the Company's territory with their troops and artillery. Both these alternatives are fraught with the greatest risk, and we cannot choose between them without exposing ourselves to great danger and the most grievous consequences, whereof the outcome or end cannot be determined by any human wisdom, seeing that it depended on the issue of the war between Great Britain and France. For, indeed, if we abandoned all friendship with the English, we expose Ceylon to all the dangers which I have recounted in my statement of advice of the 26th and which I will again repeat. We lose Jafnapatnam and Mannar, our considerable revenues therefrom, and all hope of rich pearl fisheries; we lose our factories on the Madura coast and thereby all the profits to be derived from its salt, lime, and linen; we lose,

beyond all question, Batticaloa, and thereby a considerable source of supply of the most necessary paddy; we lose all hope of supplies of rice from Bengal and Coromandel, which we cannot afford to do without; and, above all, we shall have little hope of supplies from Batavia, since the English will intercept and capture our ships. Our arecanut trade will result in almost nothing, since the vessels from the mainland will not dare to approach us; our rents will dwindle still further, and, in spite of their now being greatly reduced, the farmers of the revenue will either be totally ruined or, at least, lose considerably. I confess I can see no means of escape from all these calamities, the more so by reason of our serious shortage of money. In order to avert all these misfortunes from Ceylon and its inhabitants, I advised you, on the 26th, to accept 800 English troops as auxiliaries, and I had also made such arrangements that we should always have remained masters. I believe, moreover, that the English would not only have accepted our offer, according to their reply to Major Fornbauer, but that they would even agree to it now, if the difficult situation created by Major Fornbauer was rectified by us. But can we do this now in face of the information disclosed by the London newspapers of the state of affairs in our Fatherland, according to which the change of régime was not the work of the French alone, but also of the people of Holland? Can we now with a clear conscience faithfully adhere to the old Government? Can we, in face of orders from Holland to recognise the new régime, oppose them and take arms against the newly formed Republic and the Republic of the French Nation? This, Gentlemen, is the all-important proposition which I now put before you, and in respect of which I anxiously await the replies of each one of you, in order that, according to your replies, some plan of action may be devised, to which end you should bring to our Council the means for such decision.

Secret Resolutions of 15th August, 1795.

Following on the adjourned discussion of the letters from Trikonemale, it was unanimously resolved "that the Republic was the sovereign of her colonies and, accordingly, of this Goverment; moreover, that the Colonies were bound to accept whichever form of government the Republic adopted and to obey the command; of their rulers." It was further resolved to accept and obey the orders of the present Republic, but that the old constitution should be adhered to until the receipt of such or other legitimate

orders. It was also resolved, in view of the disembarkation of the English at Trikonemale, to break off all engagements with them which might conflict with the carrying out of the orders of the present Republic, and to instruct Major Fornbauer accordingly, that the decision to receive 300 English troops into Oostenburg was annulled, and that he was to defend the forts to the last. The British officers commanding the sea and land forces before Trikonemale were also to be informed that it was decided not to accept the 800 auxiliaries asked for and, consequently, the 300 troops for Oostenburg.

Secret Resolutions of the 9th October, 1795.

Lord Hobart's letter dated the 22nd September, 1795, and Count de Meuron's letter to his brother dated the 30th September, were tabled for the information of the Members, and,after discussion, it was resolved by 6 votes to 3 not to accept the terms offered by the English.

After scrutinising the statements of advice, H.E. remarked that the advice of the Hon: (C) van Angelbeek, von Driberg, and van Ranzow, were not decisive in respect of the demands of the English, and that they only suggested that an attempt should be made to find out from the English emissary what conditions could be stipulated for, but that all the other members recommended outright the rejection of all the propositions; that H. E. on the one hand fully recognised the many and great objections urged by the Hon: three members as well founded, but, on the other hand, considering that they were bound by oath and obedience to their superiors to decline all offers of the English, which were contingent on a surrender beforehand of the Company's establishments, or which included the surrender as a basis for negotiations, he threw in his vote with the majority to decline the later summons of the Govt: of Madras, and to continue to adhere to the resolution of the 15th August, last. It was, accordingly, decided to inform the Governor of Madras that, although the Count de Meuron had withdrawn his regiment from the service of the Company, they were not altogether unprovided with the resources necessary to make good the defence of Colombo, and that, in the event of their being ultimately overpowered by superior forces, they could console themselves with the knowledge that they had done all in their power as trusty ministers who placed their honour and duty above all things.

(It was resolved on the 11th December, 1795, to issue cash notes to the amount of 50,000 ryxdollars, in view of the shortage of cash.)

Secret Resolutions of the 29th January, 1796.

H. E. stated that two letters dated the 26th January were received from the Resident of Negombo, de Haart, stating that he had received information that the English were sending about 1,000 troops (from Mannar) to Silau by sea, and that a force of 3,500 were following by land, which information was confirmed by two spies whom he had sent to Silau, who said that they had learned that a force of 1,000 sepoys with 5 English officers had arrived there, also that, as soon as the English had come to Silau, they had sent a letter to Dambadeni to the Dessave of the 7 Korles; further, that it was rumoured that an additional force of 3,000 would arrive on the coming Sunday, and that they would march to Kaymelle and camp there. H. E. also informed the Council that on receipt of the information respecting the arrival of the English and their intention to join forces with the Kandyans and march on Negombo, he had strengthened the detachment at Negombo with still another company of Malays, and placed the commando under the command of Captain de la Motte Bertin. (The "commando" was composed of 406 Malays in addition to the garrison of 37.)

A report of Capt. Bertin addressed to Colonel von Driberg was also communicated to the Council, stating that a large force of British had arrived at Silau, and that it was reported that they intended crossing the Kaymelle river in three columns, one at the mouth of the river, the second at a place called Topoe and the third at Tammerawille, and it was resolved that the following letter should be written, addressed jointly to Capt. Bertin and the Resident de Haart:—

Gallant, and Hon'ble and Discreet Sirs,

We have considered the contents of your letters of yesterday's date and hereby communicate to you our decisions. In the first place, we have approved the measures taken by you for the defence of the Kaymelle river and for the destruction of the sheds which had been erected for the enemy on the opposite side. In the second place, we find the observations of the Hon'ble de la Motte well grounded, regarding the risk the whole detachment would run of being cut off if the enemy crossed at different points of the river. This danger is more apparent, since, according to all reports re-

ceived, the enemy is so strong that he can cross in three separate columns, each of them stronger than our whole detachment. This danger is also greatly increased by the preparations now being made on our borders, not only in the 7 Korles, but also in the 3 and 4 Korles by the Kandyans whose Dessave, who is only a quarter of a mile from the Hina Korle, is about to invade the latter Korle, in which case it would follow beyond all doubt that the Sinhalese inhabitants of that Korle, as well as the Hapitigam and Aloetkoer Korles, will forsake us and go over to the enemy, so that our detachment would be lucky even if it could cut its way through the surrounding enemy, with the heaviest loss. Above all, it was our intention, by placing this detachment at Negombo, to hold up the enemy who were then reported to be barely 600 strong, and to prevent the passage of the river (Kaymelle), but we had already decided, when we resolved to defend Kolumbo alone, to abandon all other subaltern positions in view of the enemy's great superiority. We have, therefore, decided to recall the whole detachment from Negombo, and hereby order the Hon. de la Motte to set out on the return march to Kolumbo before he could be cut off; and we also leave it to Your Honours to select whichever way, by the sea shore or further inland, you may consider practicable in the circumstances, which, as Mr. de la Motte rightly observes, change daily in times of war. In this connection we would also inform you that, fearing a general uprising in the District on the other side of the river (Kelani), we cannot send a detachment to Dandoegam. Meanwhile, Your Honours must inform us which way the detachment intends taking, so that we may give the Dessave (of the Colombo Dessavony) the necessary orders in time, to have in readiness the boats required for the crossing of our river (Kelani).

We remain, with greetings, Gallant and Hon'ble Sirs, Your good friends, (Sgd.) J. G. van Angelbeek, C. van Angelbeek, D. C. von Driberg, J. Reintous, B. L. van Zitter, A. Samlant, J. A. Vollenhove, N. Issendorp, and G. Hofland (*in margin*) Kolumbo, the 31st January, 1796.

Secret Resolutions of the 10th February, 1796.

It was submitted by H. E. the Governor that, in consideration of the fact that the misdemeanours of the military in Colombo, such as desertion, mutiny, etc., should, in the present circumstances, be dealt with summarily and, therefore, could not be submitted to the protracted routine of the Court of Justice, he had decided, with

the advice of the Hon : the Colonel von Driberg, to appoint a military tribunal to deal with offences of a purely military character during the siege, and that this tribunal was to be composed of one Major, 2 Captains, 2 Lieutenants, and 2 Ensigns with Lieut : Venekamp as Auditor ; but that should it happen that the national (Dutch) regiment and the Wurtembergers were implicated in one and the same offence, the tribunal should be composed half of national officers and half of the above-mentioned regiment, and that a staff-officer of either corps should alternately preside. It was resolved to approve the Governor's action.

Secret Resolutions of the Council of Ceylon at a meeting held on Sunday, the 14th February, 1796.

At this specially convened meeting of the Council, H. E. the Governor produced a letter from the gentlemen, Stuart and Gardner, commanding the British sea and land forces with which this fortress is invested, addressed to H. E. and the Council, demanding the surrender of this fortress, and threatening that if, in the event of a refusal, they should be forced to open fire with their batteries, we would not be afforded the option of capitulating, but that we should have to surrender at discretion,—the translation running as follows :—To the Hon'ble J. G. van Angelbeek and the Council of Colombo : We the undersigned commanding His Britannic Majesty's sea and land forces before Colombo, call upon you to surrender to the King our master this fort and the remaining possessions in Ceylon under your rule. Your Honours must be aware that all hope of succour from Europe, from your own country as well as from the power that has usurped the liberal and lawful government of the same, is vain ; and when His Majesty's conquests on this side of the Cape of Good Hope, as well as the surrender of that fortress, are taken into consideration, moreover the strength of the British fleet in the Indian Ocean, you will also realise that all hope of help from any of the remaining Dutch possessions in Asia is equally vain. These are the reasons that have prompted the undersigned to make this demand, knowing full well that Your Honours are equally desirous of preventing any further bloodshed, which, as proved by the recent incidents, is idle and of no avail. Your Honours should also remember that an obstinate resistance against the forces now before Colombo will tend to change the kindly sentiments with which the undersigned are now animated towards you and

force them to open fire with their batteries; also that, if you then surrender, it will have to be at discretion. Major Agnew, who will have the honour to hand this letter to Your Honours, is empowered by us to draw up the terms of capitulation, and we have not the least doubt that an agreement satisfactory and honourable to both parties will be arrived at. (Sgd) J. Stuart and A. H. Gardner, Headquarters of the Army before Colombo, the 14th February, 1796. (below) Translated from the English. (Sgd) A. H. Giesler, Sworn Translator.

After reading the above, H. E. said by way of introduction: That, since the first summons in July up to the present, H. E. had done his utmost to carry out the numerous repairs which the fortress stood in need of, and to strengthen it as much as possible, as could be seen from a detailed report by the Captain Engineer Foenander, the which he wished should be inserted here. (Report follows; not reproduced).

H. E. went on to say that, when it was resolved by a majority of votes totally to decline the second summons in October, he cherished the hope that they would receive the necessary orders and early help from Holland and Batavia, also that he relied on the rumour widely current, that Tipoe would create a diversion, and, lastly, that he fully believed that before long a French fleet would make its appearance; however, that nothing had come of all these hopes and expectations. He added that (1) the Native chiefs had failed to supply the 800 volunteers promised to form a flying column with Captain Mittman's Malays to harass the enemy and cut off his supplies[35]; (2) that certain dispositions to check the British advance by Mutwal had failed, and that they had lost 40 killed and 64 wounded, and that the 200 Chalias with these forces had taken to their heels; (3) that 260 up to yesterday had deserted from the four companies of armed Sinhalese, and more than half of the four companies of Moors; (4) that most of the Sepoys had deserted, and that he dared not trust any of them outside the fort;

35. A fuller translation is the following:—

That through the unwearied efforts of Lt.Col. de Raymond, he took the field on the night of the 11th of this month with a detachment of 2 companies of Malays, together with the corps of Capt. Legrevisse, in order to attack the enemy at Mutwal, who, according to the reports of spies, were distributed on this side of Greater Mutwal, the Pasbetal, and Grand Pass; that Capt. Mittman who was stationed at the so-called Silver Head with 2 companies of Malays and 200 Chalias had been ordered to cover the retreat of that corps, and that Capt. von Reitzenstein with a detachment of 300 strong was to take his position in the Green Way (forest path) and attack the enemy at Grand Pass, but that all these detachments had been repulsed with the considerable loss of 40 killed and 64 wounded, and that the Chalias had also taken to their heels on that occasion.

(5) that there were desertions also among the Malays, and that more than half the Moorish artillery had defaulted; (6) that with the exception of the officers, the Kolumbo garrison consisted of only 584 European infantry, 772 Malays, 124 European artillery, 118 sailors, and 19 artisans; (7) that all the coolies had run away; and (8) that there was no more copper money in the Company's chest.

H. E. also submitted statements of advice from his staff-officers, who, with hardly an exception, were in favour of a surrender, and pointed out that, according to his estimates and the reports of spies, &c., the British forces amounted to not less than 10,000 men, and that the fleet consisted of 3 frigates, 13 armed 3-masters, and 5 smaller vessels.

H. E. also communicated to the Meeting the contents of a letter received from P. Sluysken, (Governor of Surat), pointing out the great superiority of the British forces, &c., &c., and suggesting that H. E.'s staff-officers should be called upon to state their opinions, in writing, regarding the feasibility or otherwise of making good the defence of Kolumbo.

The staff-officers, with the exception of Major Vaugine, all agreed that Kolumbo could not hold out longer than three days. Major Vaugine's statement reads as follows :—" Notwithstanding our unfortunate situation, since we have been forsaken by the Government of Batavia, the Hon'ble Company, and the Republic; notwithstanding our shortness of men and coolies and our lack of means for transporting our artillery and ammunition; notwithstanding the slender resources which are only left to us; notwithstanding the large number of desertions among our Indian troops; and notwithstanding the overwhelming superiority of the English forces; but taking into consideration the good courage of the few people that are still with us: I am of opinion, not in a spirit of temerity but as befits a man of courage, that we are in duty bound to defend our city to the best of our ability, and that we should not capitulate until we have won the esteem and regard of the enemy by a valiant defence."

The Council having considered all this, and chiefly taken into consideration that the staff-officers von Driberg, Von Hugel, Scheede, Prophalow, Villnagel, and Heupner, had advised that the fortress could not hold out for longer than three days; also that the fortress could not be defended with any chance of success against the great force with which it was invested; further, that all that

would result on their refusal to capitulate would be the destruction of the whole city and the slaughter of the inhabitants, and also that if they had to surrender after all this, it would have to be at discretion, in which event neither the Republic nor the Company would derive the least benefit for the present, or till Great Britain should be forced to restore, at a general peace, what she had taken: accordingly it was unanimously resolved to propose an equitable capitulation.

Secret Resolutions of Monday the 15th February, 1796.

The draft of the Articles of Capitulation having been laid before the Council, together with Major Agnew's observations, and H. E. also having acknowledged that better terms could not have been stipulated for, it was unanimously resolved to accept them and, thereafter, to surrender the fortress the next morning. Thus done and resolved in the Castle of Kolumbo, datum ut supra.

(Sgd) J. G. van Angelbeek, C. van Angelbeek, C. von Driberg, J. Reintous, B. L. van Zitter, A. Samlant, J. A. Vollenhove, D. D. van Ranzow, A. Issendorp, and T. G. Hofland.

HUGH CLEGHORN,

Ceylon's First Colonial Secretary.

By J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired).

THE first Englishman (or must we say Scotchman ?) entitled to mention, in connection with British rule in Ceylon, is certainly Hugh Cleghorn (1761-1836). For it was to him that the annexation of the Ceylon coasts by the East India Company was chiefly due.

During a temporary residence in Switzerland, he had met Count Charles De Meuron, and, with him, negotiated the transfer of the Swiss Regiment De Meuron from the service of the Dutch, to that of the English, East India Company. This so weakened the power of the former that the forces of the latter made a rapid and easy conquest of the coast of Ceylon, and the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Hon. Henry Dundas, attributed this to Cleghorn's acquisition of the De Meuron Regiment. Cleghorn died in 1836, and on his tombstone at Strathvithie is styled " the Agent through whose instrumentality the Island of Ceylon was annexed to the British Empire."

He has other claims to notice, not conceded by the *Dictionary of National Biography*, nor by Buckland in his *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, which find no place for him in their columns. He was Professor of Civil History at the University of St. Andrew's before he travelled East, and Sir Walter Scott, who met him thirty years after his return, described him as " an able man, has seen much and speaks well." The Royal Geographical Society of to-day would certainly honour him, for he "made a remarkable journey with Count De Meuron across Europe to Alexandria, over the desert on camels to Suez, and down the Red Sea in a pilgrim boat to Medina, then in an Arab ship to Bombay." This was in 1795, before " the overland route was opened." And the motive for this hazardous and adventurous journey was his zeal for the glory of the British Empire, for " he achieved his object of reaching India before news of the events in Europe could arrive by the ordinary channels."

It seems that Cleghorn accompanied the expeditions that the Government of Fort St. George sent, in 1795-6, against Trincomalee and Colombo.

Possibly, 'Lieutenant Cleghorne' of the Madras Engineers, who accompanied a detachment of that Corps in these expeditions, was a son of Hugh Cleghorn. If so, was he a Colonel four years later and identical with the "Colonel Cleghorn," son of Hugh, who was present with the De Meuron Regiment at the siege of Seringapatam in May, 1799?

On the appointment of the Hon. Frederic North to the Governorship of Ceylon in 1798, Cleghorn was made his "Crown Secretary" "with the same powers as Mr. Bernard of the Cape." He may, therefore, be said to be the first member of "His Majesty's Ceylon Civil Service," first in time as well as first in status, as his successors have been reckoned.

Cleghorn travelled out with North to Bombay early in 1798, and remained there with him for two months. He was then sent by North to Madras "to arrange forms of business and to establish checks on public expenditure" in the administration of government in Ceylon. He arrived on 15th August and remained there until after 8th September. He was also to get the papers on Ceylon left there by Lord Mornington, who had for a short time been Governor of Fort St. George before taking up the Governor-Generalship, and who had just come out from England and assumed office. Ceylon, after it had been freed from the rule of Fort St. George and the East India Company, had been placed directly under the Governor-General.

On 28th September, Cleghorn was at Jaffna on his way to Colombo where he was when North arrived there on 12th October.

At the beginning of their association together in the Government of Ceylon, North was quite pleased with his Secretary. He was "sincerely happy in having such men as De Meuron, Cleghorn and Agnew." Cleghorn had furnished him with an able report on the affairs of the Island, its administration while it was under Fort St. George, its procedure, accounts, etc., and had commented unfavourably on the spirit shown by the chief Civilians at Madras with regard to the transfer of Ceylon to an administration independent of Fort St. George, a measure which they regarded as adverse to their patronage and emoluments. He had also taken

an unfavourable view of the conduct of the Madras Civilian, Robert Andrews, in Ceylon, and of the Madras dubashes who had worked under Andrews. In this last matter, Governor North followed Cleghorn, and seems to have depended on him a good deal in the formation of his opinion.

When, therefore, there was, just at this time, talk of the King of Kandy's sending an embassy to Colombo, North at once decided that to Cleghorn should be entrusted the embassy that was to be sent to Kandy in return. Meanwhile, Cleghorn and Captain Turnour, the Commandant at Mannar, were busy "collecting and arranging" the accounts and statistics of the last Pearl Fishery, as well as examining those of the revenues of the Island, generally, for the information of the Governor, who had already discovered that its finances were not in a satisfactory state.

But things did not go on smoothly for long. The Governor and his Secretary were not congenial spirits. Mr. North seems to have been liable to what now-a-days would be called "nerves." Lord Mornington had noted in his diary of 7th July, 1798, after North's appointment to the Governorship, but before his arrival in Ceylon: "North is angry, afflicted, surprised, his state uncertain and embarrassed, and so ridiculous."

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Governor soon got it into his head that Cleghorn was at the head of a "click," as he calls it, or combination of the Madras Civilians left in Ceylon, which was out to make things disagreeable for him. In view of Cleghorn's strictures on Andrews and other Madras civilians, this hardly seems likely, but North was convinced of it, looked upon everything Cleghorn did, with suspicion, and made very uncomplimentary references to him in his correspondence with Lord Mornington.

The trouble began at Trincomalee some eight months or so after North had taken up the reins of government. It arose over a report made by Cleghorn and Macdouall, a Madras Civilian, who, with Andrews, had been appointed Commissioners for the Pearl Fishery of 1798, on the subject of that Fishery. (Andrew) had nothing to do with this report as he had already returned to Madras.) Some recommendation or proposal—North calls it "a profligate cheat"—had been over-ruled by the Governor-General in accordance with North's views, and Cleghorn, according to North's informant, had drawn up an intemperate letter in reply, which Colonel Champagne "with difficulty" had prevented him

from sending, but had sent home to the Secretary of State, according to North "reams of paper" against the Governor.

So much was the latter perturbed by this, that he had asked the Secretary of State to let either him or Cleghorn go home "by the next cinnamon ships." He writes to Lord Mornington: "The conduct of Secretary Cleghorn has been outrageous, far beyond what I had imagined....I am much *roiled* by that madman...." But he reflects that he can get rid of him temporarily when he goes on that embassy. He can dispose of Cleghorn for three or four months "as he cannot do as much harm there as at Colombo," and then he proceeds to make an atrocious pun—"though I am afraid that *candying* will not have the same effect on him as on currants in making him sweet, yet he will have leisure to reflect that he has not succeeded in overthrowing my Government."

But, two days later, North received some letters from Cleghorn that had been sent after him to India and were now returned, and they were "full of courtesy and kindness." The Governor softened towards him and reflected that "fierceness is not my *forte*," though he was "fully determined to govern." He hears that Cleghorn is now "quite humble and decent," and is talking with resignation or equanimity of his embassy to Kandy or departure by a cinnamon ship. He would be "sorry to hurt the poor devil" for whom he has "rather a twaddling regard."

But at the same time, North was rather uneasy lest the Secretary of State should adopt Cleghorn's view of his proceedings in the matter of Macdouall, whom North had suspected of culpable negligence in the discharge of his duties as Collector of Mannar. On 31st July, he wrote a private letter to Cleghorn "to open his eyes and bring him to his senses." This letter explains his reasons for suspending Macdouall and Garrow, Collectors at Trincomalee and Mullaittivu respectively, and for appointing Turnour to Mannar in place of the former.

Meanwhile, the Governor unburdens himself about Cleghorn, in his diary and in his letters to Lord Mornington: "Not a day passed" without Cleghorn's "publicly abusing him," until the arrival of the Governor-General's proclamation approving of the Governor's action, which "dumbfounded" Cleghorn. But Cleghorn had written a ream of paper against this decision and against North, and had got the clerk to transcribe these letters in his own house. For, as North writes to Lord Mornington a few days before, he is afraid

that Cleghorn's conduct is inspired by the belief that Lord Mornington has withdrawn his confidence from North and that he prefers Cleghorn. The latter has "grown disagreeable and really dangerous"; "he says you like him and will let him go home for one year." North is quite ready to join in this hope—in fact he would pay half the expenses "for making that golden bridge."

In the same letter to Lord Mornington he describes him as under the domination of Macdouall, and adds that "his vanity, when sufficiently flattered will make him give his confidence with a facility that would disgrace a child. He has no method, no regularity, and does not understand money matters." North is afraid he has been made a catspaw by Macdouall. By September, North had, after suspending and reinstating, finally dismissed Macdouall. In North's view, the effect of this display of authority was to overawe Cleghorn, who, he informs the Governor-General, had "lost his senses with terror. I am high and distant with him, and he never comes to the office....Cleghorn will shortly be fit for no place but Bedlam."

It is not perhaps surprising that the culpability of Macdouall was not at first sight evident to Cleghorn, for General Hay Macdowall, who had been deputed by the Governor to examine Macdouall and to verify the rice in his charge at Arippu, reported at first that, in his opinion, Macdouall, "though he had been careless, had not been criminal."

But North's irritation and dissatisfaction waxed daily. The next thing was that Cleghorn was to resign the embassy to Kandy, and that General Hay Macdowall was to take it instead. North was, in fact, thinking of suspending Cleghorn, for "his absurdity is beyond comparison." Three weeks later, he writes that Cleghorn is "absolutely quaking with fear, and now absolutely fawns upon me," whereas, when the Chief Secretary was at the Fishery, his public abuse of the Governor at the table at which he presided "was a public scandal, it never ceased and he was never sober after dinner." From the complete change in his behaviour North infers that there was "sad work" at the Fishery and he intends to ferret it out. By 14th September, he had resolved on suspending Cleghorn as soon as he had received the report of the Commission he had appointed to inquire into the conduct of Macdouall at the Pearl Fishery. This he seems to have done, for, in January, he informed Lord Mornington that he had

reported the suspension of Cleghorn to the Secretary of State, and had called on him either to support him in this action or to recall him.

But, within the next fortnight, Cleghorn had settled the matter, as far as he was concerned, by leaving Ceylon, and North is jubilant. "The *Preston* with Cleghorn has weighed anchor from this place."

One cannot somehow, in view of Cleghorn's record and the Hon. Frederic North's weaknesses, his sentimentalities, his impulsiveness and his want of judicial balance,[1] feel that he was treated with fairness by the Governor, or that the latter's imputations and inferences were justified.

How the matter of Cleghorn's suspension ended does not appear from the official correspondence. Anyway, he gave up his £3,000 a year appointment and returned to Scotland. He was laird of Strathvithie in Fife, and died there in 1836. He had been given a bonus of £5,000 by the Ceylon Government for the part he took in bringing the Island into the Empire. He has left an interesting diary, in manuscript, of his remarkable journey to India, and of the whole transactions which led up to the acquisition of Ceylon, which is preserved at Strathvithie, now the property of Sir Alexander Sprot, M.P., his great-grandson.

Although he was a professor of Civil History, he had no liking for the study of law, for he remonstrated with North for having put him into "that damned law business of which he knows nothing." The "damned law business" was the system of the administration of justice in Ceylon, regarding which he had to write a letter to the Secretary of State. Notwithstanding this, he compiled a "Minute on Land Tenure in Ceylon." When the Land Settlement Ordinance came into prominence at the end of last century in Ceylon, as Mr. E. B. Sueter remarked, "Cleghorn's minute" was as often in demand as it was difficult to find. Versatility, at least, was one characteristic of Ceylon's first Colonial Secretary.

[Cordiner, who came over from Madras to Trincomalee in April 1799, and journeyed by land from that place to Colombo in June, met Cleghorn at Negombo on 24th June, and handed over to him some letters of introduction which he had brought from Madras. This was just at the time that North was characterising Cleghorn's conduct as "outrageous" to Lord Mornington, in whose company Cordiner had made part of the voyage out. The chaplain dined

1 See *Sir Thomas Maitland*, by W. Frewen Lord.

with Cleghorn two days later at Colombo. He does not, in either of his books, mention Cleghorn again. Cordiner was a great admirer of North's. One wonders how he managed to steer a course between the Governor and his Secretary, and to keep in with both.

The above account of Cleghorn is based on (1) an article on "The Ceylon Civil Service" by the late Mr. E. B. Sueter, C.C.S., in the Christmas Number of the *Times of Ceylon* for 1914 (2) a letter to one of the Indian newspapers by Cleghorn's great-grandson, Sir Alexander Sprot, Bart, M. P. and (3) the Wellesley MSS published in the *Ceylon Literary Register*, Vol. II.]

PORTUGUESE INFLUENCE ON SINHALESE SPEECH.

By Rev. S. G. Perera, s.j.

(Concluded from Vol. VIII, Part I, Page 60).

118 **Kabá-kuruttuva,** කබාකුරුත්තුව	"Women's jacket."	*Cabai curta.* Short *cabaya.*	
119 **Kabalériya,** කබලේරිය	"Tress of false hair"	*Cabelleira,* "head of hair, wig."	
120 **Kabáya,** කබාය	"Coat."	C.P. *Cabaye, Cabai* "Tunic." Port. *Cabaya,* of Arabic origin.	

The word *cabaya* also means "a sort of silk stuff generally embroidered with gold and much used a few years ago for ladies' dresses." (Vieira).

Gray, in his notes on Pyrard, thinks that "the word was introduced before the time of the Portuguese," and remarks that "*Cabaya* in Ceylon means a coat or jacket." (*Hob-Job.* s.v.) The word has been used by Castanheda (1551), Correa (1552) who explains "*Cabaya* he hum vestido como a nos he o pelote." The Englishman, Ralph Fitche, (1585) describes it "*Cabie* made like a shirt tied with strings on one side;" Linschoten (1598) "a thinne cotton linnen gowne called *Cabaia.*" The Portuguese sent Manamperi Mohottiyar a white *Cabaya* (Huma *cabaya* branca muito fina) which he donned with great ceremony when he assumed the title Jayavira Bandar." (Queyroz 384-5.) According to Schouten, the chief men in Ceylon, wear "a white *Cabay* or gown made of silk, flowered or of white cotton" (C.B.R.A.S. Journal XI. 343.) Percival, (141-2) describing the dress worn by the unmarried Dutch ladies, says: "Over the whole is thrown the *kabey,* or muslin robe with sleeves fitted close to the arms, and reaching down to the wrist, with five or six buttons of gold, silver or precious stones. A long or short *kabey* is used according to fancy."

121 **Kabuk,** කබුක් "Laterite." *Cabouco,* "quarry," Anglo-Indian *Cabook.*

"It is likely that the blocks of laterite were called by the Portuguese *pedras de cavouco* 'quarry stones,' and, by a process familiar in English, the last word, after a time, came to be retained as the name of the material." (Ferguson C.B.R.A.S. Jl. X, 173). Daalmans (1689) uses *kopkok*; Heydt (1744) *Capock.*

122 **Kachchiya,** කච්චිය "Roll of cloth." *Cacha,* "a kind of coarse cloth made in India" (*Ketchies, catchas,* Hob-Job).

123 **Kachchiya,** කච්චිය "Roll, whole piece of cloth" C.P.*Cache,* "a roll of cloth 40 cubits in length." (Cf. No 114 and Queyroz, *Conquista,* 33)

124 **Kadadási,** කඩදාසි
Karadási, කරදාසි "Paper" *Cartaz.*

Carta is not used in the sense of paper. *Cartaz,* of Asiatic origin, came into use in India for "certificate," "safe conduct," and thence, for "any paper, bill, placard." Portuguese writers felt the need of explaining the word: "*Certidao, a que elles chamao Cartaz* "(Correa). "With *cartazes* of 'safe-conduct' from the Capt. of Cochin" (*Couto IV. VIII, J 60, 92,*) *permissoes para navegar,* Boccaro, 16 etc. The British troops, in 1803, found in the King's palace, Kandy, "profusion of soft paper made in the country of the bark of trees "(Cord. II, 181).

125 **Kaju,** කජු "Caju" *Caju* (*Ancardium occidentale*), a Brazilian plant and name introduced by the Portuguese.

126 **Kaldarama,** කල්දරම "Cauldron" *Caldeiro.*
Now applied to the copper stills used in distilling arrack.

127 **Kaldu,** කල්දු "Broth." *Caldo,* "soup."

128 **Kalisama,** කලිසම් "Pantaloons." *Calças.*

129 **Kamaraya, Kámbre,**	කාමරය	"Room."	C.P. *Cambre, Camara*, "chamber."	
130 **Kambáya,**	කම්බාය	"The coloured cloth worn by women."		

Cambaya, panos de Cambaya, "cloth of Cambaya," a port of Gujerat formerly well known. Ships from Cambaya were in Colombo when Lourenço da Almeida arrived (1505). Correa (*C.L.R.* III, 133.)

According to Castanheda, the people of Ceylon "cover themselves, below the girdle, with cloth of silk and cotton which they call *patolas* (*C.L.R.* I.V, 190); and *patolas* are "coloured cottons and silks" (Barbosa) "which are made at Cambaya" (Correa). The word *Cambaya*, though of Asiatic origin, was introduced into India by the Portuguese (*C.L.R.* I, 239.)

The Anglo-Indian "Camboy," is a corruption, not of *Cambaya* but of *Cabaya*, and is used to designate both the *Kambaya* and the *Sarong*; a fruitful source of error. Tennent, for instance, says "the term '*Camboy*' is used to designate the cotton cloth universally worn at the present day in the Maritime Provinces," (I, 588). On its derivation he says "The Chinese who visited the island in the seventh century described the people as clothed in the loose robe, still known as 'Camboy,' a word probably derived from the Chinese *koopei*, which signifies cotton" (I, 451). This discovery he repeats at p. 588, and II, 107.

131 **Kamisaya,**	කමිසය	"Shirt; children's night-shirt."	*Camisa.*

It is much discussed whether the word is of Latin or Arabic origin. St. Jerome uses *camisa* in his *Ep. ad Fabiolam*, which Yule and Burnel consider to be the source of the Arabic *kamis*. (*Hob-Job.* s.v.)

132 **Kanáde,**	කානාඩේ	"Measure of capacity."	P. *Canada*, "a measure equal to 3 English pints." (Nunes, *Livro dos pesos*, 34).

"In Mannar arrack was sold by the *canade*, which is the Portuguese *Canade*, a measure of liquids, which is said to be 12 bottles" (*C.A. & L.R.* v. 15).

133 **Kánuva,**	කානුව	"Gutter, drain"	*Cano.*

Cano is also a barrel, see No. 134.

134	**Kánuva,**		"Barrel." (see	No. 133).
135	**Kapalaruva,**	කපලාරුව	"Plastering"	C.P. *Cafla* "plaster," F. *Acafelar*, "to wash with lime."
136	**Kápiri,**	කාපිරි	"Caffir."	*Cafre*
137	**Kappádu,**	කප්පාදු	"Castrate"	*Capado*, "gelded."
138	**Kappitta,**	කප්පිත්තා *Raj.* 557	"Captain."	*Capitao.*
139	**Karábu,**	කරාබු	"Cloves."	*Cravo* (see No. 165)
140	**Karapuse,**	කරපුසේ	"Hat."	*Carapuça*, "a hat to keep out the cold." C.P. *Carpuçe*
	Karabuse,	කරබුසේ		"Cap."

1812. "The King has lately sent අවමුල්ලකාප්පි (eight-cornered hats) to the two Adikars, and හතරමුල්ලකාප්පි (four-cornered hats) to the Dissawes, and white *Karapus Toppi* to the Dukgannas, to preserve the proper distinctions" (*D'Oyly's Diary*, 115).

141	**Karatte,**	කරත්තෙ	"Wagon, carriage."	*Careta.*
	Karettuva,	කරෙත්තුව	"Bandy carriage." F.	
142	**Kardamungu,**	කර්දමුංගු	"Cardamons."	*Cardamomo.* (S. *Ensal*).
143	**Kártuva,**	කාර්තුව	"Quarter,"	*Quarto.*
144	**Kasáda,**	කසාද	"Marriage."	*Casar*, "to marry;" *Casado*, "married man." C. P. *Cazado.*

Every Portuguese in the East was either a *Soldado* or *Casado*; the former received pay, the latter no regular pay, but enjoyed certain privileges.

145	**Kaskinña,**	කස්කිඤ්ඤ	"Applied to gold shells which on each side partially enclose the glass or coral bead of a necklace" (Nell, 19).	the *Casquinha*, diminutive of *Casca* "Rind."

146 **Kastáne,** කස්තාණෙ (?) P. *Catana*

"A curved, Sinhalese short-sword." The sabre worn by Sinhalese headmen; P. *Catana*, a large broad-sword used by the inhabitants of Japan. The word is of Japanese origin and has been used by Lucena Boccaro, Cardim (Cf. Dalgado, 47).

The Hon. Mr. H. W. Codrington, whom I consulted, doubts this derivation on the ground that the weapon is Eastern and not European in type, and that the Portuguese word *Catana* itself is said to be of Oriental origin. He tentatively suggests a Persian or Malay origin.

Cord. (I. 97) thus describes the *castane*: "All the men in office wear swords of a moderate size, antiquated and not formidable in appearance. The hilt and scabbard are made of silver. The former imitates the head of a tiger; the latter is curiously embossed and turned round at the point. The sashes are either of rich gold or silver lace, to which is affixed a brilliant star, or cluster of various gems. The design and workmanship exhibited in these decorations are distinguishing badges of the particular rank of the wearer."

D'Oyly(5)"There are among them (the people who attend the 2 Adigars") some guns, swords, and *Castanas*." "Guards bearing muskets, swords, *Kastanas* stood arranged in two rows"(142).

Portuguese writers speak of a Sinhalese weapon called *calichurro*, a "sabre two and half spans long" (Ribeiro), "a broad, short knife a little curved" (Boccaro), "small broad-swords" (Menezes, Queyroz etc.). *Calichurro* evidently stands for a Sinhalese word which has not yet been identified (Cf Jl. XIV. 175).

147	**Kastíguva,**	කස්තිගුව	"Trouble."	*Castigo*, "punishment."
148	**Katikisma,**	කතිකිස්ම	"Catechism."	*Cathequesi*, *Catecismo.*
149	**Kéju,**	කේජු	"Cheese."	*Quejo.*
150	**Kénti,**	කේන්ති	"Anger."	*Quente*, "hot."
151	**Kirichchiya,**	කිරිච්චිය	"A Malay dagger." (*Raj.* 63).	*Cris*, Malay *Kris.* The Portuguese coined *crisada*, "a blow with a *cris.*"

The word was probably used in Ceylon prior to the Portuguese. If Reinaud is right in his translation of the *Arab Relations* of the 9th and 10th centuries, in correcting a reading, otherwise unin-

telligible, to *khri*, we shall have a very early adoption of this word by Western travellers. It occurs in a passage relating to Ceylon.

C. 910 A.D. "Formerly it was common enough to see in this island a man of the country walk into the market grasping in his hand a *khri*, i.e. a dagger peculiar to the country, of admirable make, and sharpened to the finest edge. The man would lay hands on the wealthiest of the merchants that he found, taking him by the throat, brandish his dagger before his eyes, and finally drag him out of the town." (*Hob-Job* s.v.)

Queyroz (755), Schouten (*Jour.* XI, 343) and D'Oyly (164) mention the use of *Cris* in Ceylon. Percival (155) "The arms which the Malays carry....consist of a kind of dagger, called *Kreese* or *Crisse*; the blade of which is of the best tempered steel and often made of a serpentine form, so as to inflict a most deadly wound. The handle is of ivory or wood, carved into the figure of a man's body and arms, with a head representing something between that of a man and a bird."

152 **Kittárama,** කිත්තාරම "Guitar." *Guitarra.*

153 **Kompañña-Vídiya,** කොම්පඤ්ඤ වීදිය "Slave-Island." C.P. *Companha,* and *ilha,* "Island."

This has been supposed to mean "Company's street." Nell denies that the Company is the Dutch East India Company, "as all the roads belonged to them: this is too far-fetched."

"There is another suggestive derivation from the Portuguese *Campanha*, which would, however, rather refer to a field expedition than a cantonment."

Mr Denham in his *Census Report* (131) thought that the Company referred to is the "Company of gun lascars who had their lines there." He even doubted "as to how the name Slave Island arose. It would appear that the name *Slave Island* was given it in English times."

There is, however, no doubt that it was called Slave Island at least 100 years before the British. In 1707 it is spoken of as the "*Ilha dos Escravos*" "*Ilha dos Escravos da Companhia*" (*O Chronista de Tissuary* II, 162) as a familiar and well-known name. From which it would appear that the name "Slave Island" was not given in English times, and that "the Company" is the Dutch East India Company.

Ferguson gives the following origin to Slave Island: "One night the slaves of a certain Dutch household in the Fort rose and

murdered the whole family. After that, all the slaves in the Fort, after the day's work was done, were collected in punts and rowed out into what was nearly an island, and there kept under guard until the time came to return and engage in their daily toil" (*Old and New Colombo*, 9).

According to Cordiner, there was no Street in Slave Island.: "There is no road by which a carriage can drive to either (of the two gentlemen's villas in Slave Island) without making a circuit of several miles. The common way of going to the first mentioned villa is through the sally port, either on foot, on horseback, in a palanquin, along the causeway, or across the lake in a boat. In going to the other it is usual to pass nearly a mile along the south road, until in front of the house, then to turn down to the water's edge, and cross a branch of the lake, which has there the appearance of a river, not being more than thirty yards in breadth (present Bridge Road ?)"

There was, therefore, no street. Whence came "Company's Street ?" I am inclined to think that *vidiya* is not "street," but a corruption of *ilha*, pronounced "*ije*." *Ije* in Sinhalese mouths became *vidye*.

"During the Dutch period" writes Mr. Denham, "it is referred to only as '*Ije*,' the island; and it is still known by this name amongst many of the Portuguese mechanics."

154	**Konsejuva,**	කොන්සේජුව	"Court."	C. P. *Consejo*, "council," (P. *Conselho*).
155	**Kontaya,**	කොන්තය	"Rosary."	*Contas.*
	Kontiñña,	කොන්තිඤ්ඤ		C.P. *Continha.*
156	**Kopi,**	කොපි	"Coffee."	*Café.*
157	**Koppe,**	කෝප්පෙ	"Cup."	*Copa.*
158	**Koradama,**	කොරදම	"Twisted thread," "a shoe-tie" F.	C.P. *Cordan.*
159	**Korasama,**	කොරසම	"Heart."	*Coraçao* (Nell).
160	**Korel,**	කොරැල්	"Coral."	*Coral.*
161	**Koronel,**	කොරොනැල්	"Coroner."	*Coronel.*
162	**Korosme,**	කොරොස්මේ	"Lent."	*Quaresma.*
163	**Kottama,**	කොට්ටම	"Jacket."	*Cotao*
164	**Kova,**	කොව	"Pipe."	*Cova*, "crucible."

165	**Krábu,**	කුාබු	"Ear-ornament"	*Cravo,* "small nail," C.P. "ear-ornament," also the spice (see No.139)

The ear-ornament is so called from its resemblance to the spice, which was called *cravo* from its resemblance to a nail. *Clove* from L. *clavus* "nail." Fr. *Clou de girofles* "nail of girofles," Garcia da Orta *calafar,* (Arabic *garafala, quarafal,* anglice *gilly flower,* now applied to the similar shaped bud of Pink). The comparison to nails runs through many languages (*Hob-Job*). Chinese nail spice, Persian nailkin, German nail spice.

166	**Kulachchama,** කුලච්චම	"Mattress."	*Colchao.*	
	Kulichchama, කුලිච්චම	"Bolster" (Clough.)		
167	**Kuluna,** කුලුණ	"Pillar."	*Coluna.*	
168	**Kumera,** කුමේර	"Top ridge of a roof."	*Cume* (L.*culmen*).	
169	**Kuñña,** කුඤ්ඤ	"Wedge."	*Cunha.*	
170	**Kuppiya,** කුප්පිය	"Small bottle."	*Copa.*	
171	**Kurtiñña,** කුර්තිඤ්ඤ	"Curtain."	C.P. *Cortinha* (*Cortina*).	
172	**Kurusaya,** කුරුසය	"Cross."	*Cruz.*	
173	**Kussiya,** කුස්සිය **Kussiñña,** කුසිඤ්ඤ	"Kitchen."	*Cozinha.* C.P. *Cuzinha.*	
174	**Kustúra,** කුස්තුර	"Seams in flooring, between bricks."	*Costura.*	
175	**Ladúru,** ලාදුරු	"Leprosy."	*Lazaro.*	
176	**Lakada,** ලාකඩ	"Sealing-wax."	*Lacre.*	
177	**Lansaya,** ලන්සය	"Lance."	*Lanca.*	
178	**Lansi,** ලන්සි	"Hollanders."	C.P. *Landez* (*Hollandez*); *Ollanduwa* (D'Oyly, 80). *Olande,* ඕලන්දෙ, *Landesi*: ලන්දේසි (*Raj.*73).	
179	**Lansóluva,** ලන්සෝලුව	"Bed sheet	*Lançol.*	

180	**Lansuva,**	ලන්සුව	"Throw, Cast (of dice), bid (at an auction)."	P. *Lanço.*
181	**Lanteruma**	ලන්තෑරුම්	"Lantern."	*Lanterna.*
182	**Latara,**	ලාතර	"Cakes shaped in the letters of the Roman Alphabet."	*Letra,* "letter" (Nell, 35).
183	**Lellam,**	ලෙල්ලම්	"Auction."	*Leilao,* "auction" (from Arabic *Al-Ilam* "proclamation.")
	Lellampola,	ලෙල්ලම්-පොල	"A place where fish is sold by auction." (Clough).	

The word survives in Anglo-Indian English as *Leylam.*" Should a man die, they at once make a *Leylam* of his property (1527. ***MS*** quoted by *Hob-Job.* 621).

184	**Lendiya,**	ලේන් ඩියා	"Nit."	*Lendea.*
185	**Lonsuva,**	ලේන්සුව	"Handkerchief.'	*Lenço.*
186	**Lesti,**	ලෑස්ති	"Ready."	*Lestes.*
187	**Lingus,**	ලිඟුස්	"Sausage."	C.P. *Lingus (linguiça)*
188	**Listaraya,**	ලිස්තරය	"Cornice, raised edging, moulding." (Clough).	*Lustre.* Port. *Listrar,* "to stripe."

189 **Livaramentu** ලිවරමෙන්තු

Nossa Senhora do Livramento, also *N.S. do Parto* ("Our Lady of Release, Delivery"), now the Burial Ground to the South of the City.

"Half a league from Colombo, to the south, is the Church of Our Lady of Delivery, and within gun shot, to the east of it, formerly stood the city of Cota" (Queyroz, *Conq.* 583).

"They (the Catholics who were arraigned before the Dutch Council) said they met the Father in *Livramento,* which is a place outside the city, where formerly was a church of Nossa Senhora do Livarmanento, but now only a ruined wall, but many people, white and black, even pagan Chingalas visit it with great devotion and each one according to his faith receives favours from God, and the sick drink of the water of the well which is by the side

of the church, and all the orders and penalties which the Company had published against those who go thither did not succeed in doing away with the devotion of the people." 1707. (*C. A. & L. R.* 9, VI. 120).

The well still exists, and a statue found in it is now preserved in one of the churches of Colombo.

190	**Lóguva,**	ලෝකුව	"Cassock."	*Lobo.*
191	**Lotariya,**	ලොතරිය	"Lottery."	*Lotaria.*
192	**Lugára,**	ලුගාරා	"Room or space."	*Lugar.* (cf Nell, p. 35).
193	**Lúla,**	ලූලා	"Fresh water fish."	P. *Lula,* "callamary." (Nell).
194	**Lunu Pokuna,**	ලුනුපොකුන		P. *Tanque Salgado.*
195	**Lustara,**	ලුස්තර	"Shining or polished surface"	(Nell). *Lustre.*
196	**Madriṅna,**	මද්රිඤ්ඤ	"God-mother."	*Madrinha.*
197	**Máiya,**	මායියා	"Old woman."	*Maia.*
198	**Malavará,**	මලවරා	"Malabar."	P. *Malavar* (cf *Raj.* 48).
199	**Malvatta,**	මල්වත්ත		*Orta fula.* C. P. *Fulle,* "flower"
200	**Mánchu,**	මාන්චු	"Handcuffs."	P. *Machos,* "fetters."
201	**Máriyá,**	මාරියා	"Seaman."	*Marear.*
202	**Masa,**	මස	"Dough."	*Maça.*
203	**Masan,**	මසන්	"Zizyphulus jujuba."	*Macaõ.*
	(Cf *Masangas Vidiya.* Anglice "Messenger Street.")			
204	**Mengus,**	මැන්ගුස්	"Mangosteen."	*Mangostaõ.*
205	**Mérendé,**	මැරැන්දේ	"Luncheon."	C.P. *Merenda.* F.
206	**Mérisa, Meris,**	මෙරිස්	"Thanks."	*Merçe*
207	**Més,**	මේස්	"Stockings."	*Meas,* "Stockings."
		අත්මේස්	"Gloves," lit. "Hand stockings"	
		කොට මේස්	"Socks." lit. "Short stockings."	
208	**Mése,**	මේසෙ	"Table."	*Mesa.*

Knox gives this word in his vocabulary. (*C.B.R.A.S. Jl.* XIV. 170, n 256).

209 **Mestiri,** මේස්තිරි "Barber." *Mestre.*

210 **Midula,** මිදුල "Compound." *Medula*

Dalgado considers මිදුල a Port. derivative from *Medula,* but it is a Sinh. word (cf. *Námávaliya* 105.)

The Anglo-Indian *Compound,* "the enclosed garden which surrounds a house," was thought to be derived from P. *Campinho* (Tennent II, 70; Suckling I, 380), but it is rather from Malay *Kampung* (*Hob-Job.* s.v).

211 **Milagiriya,** මිලාගිරිය *Nossa Senhora dos Milagres.* (Baldeus "Milagre")

212 **Minindoru,** මිනින්දෝරු "Surveyor." *Medidor.*

213 **Minittuva,** මිනිත්තුව "Minute." *Minuto.*

214 **Mostaraya,** මෝස්තරය "Sample." *Mostra.* cf Anglo-Indian "Muster."

215 **Munissan,** මුනිස්සන් "Small shot." *Muniçao.*

216 **Nattal,** නත්තල් "Christmas." *Natal*

217 **Niskansu,** (same as *Diskansu*" q.v.)

218 **Nona,** නෝනා "Lady." C.P. *None,* P. *Dona.*

219 **Nos,** නොස් "Nutmeg." *Noz,* nut.

Sadikka is Tamil. *Gun.* 367. According to Queyroz (*Conquista* 33) nutmegs of the same kind as those of Banda grew in Meneripiti and from Sitávaka to Malvána. (cf Suckling, ii, 390).

220 **Notisia,** නොටිසිය "Notice." *Noticia.*

221 **Nuvane,** නුවනෙ "Novena." *Novena.*

222 **Ompo,** ඕම්පෝ "Uncle." C.P. *Ompi*

223 **Opis,** ඔපිස් "Office (of the dead.") cf D. *Officio.*

224 **Orappuva,** ඔරප්පුව "Orphan." *Orfalo.*

(*Raj.* 71) ඔරොප්පුවෙ ඇතිකර උන් "brought up in the Orphanage."

"A well-known Mudliar's residence near the Fort of Galle is known as the *Oroppe* Walauwa or 'Orphan house,' because it was the site, in the Dutch time, of an orphan house." (Nell, 44)

225 **Orasan,** ඔරසන් "Prayers." *Oraçao.*

226 **Orgalaya,** ඔර්ගලය "Organ." *Orgão.*

227 **Orlosuva,** ඔරලෝසුව "Clock." C.P. *Orlozo* (P. *Relogio* became *rologo, orloso,* (probably through Dutch *orlogie,* from same root L. *horologium*).

228 **Padiri,** පාදිරි "Father." *Padre.*

1812. "Recd. Official Letter from Govt. authorising to permit the Ja Mohm. to occupy and possess 4 Acres of Govt. Garden at Negombo, Pádili Watta" (*D'Oyly*, 110).

229 **Padiriṅña** පදිරිඤ්ඤ "God-father" *Padrinho.*

230 **Pagodi** පගොදි "Pagodi coin." *Pagode.* (measure of weight) A gold coin current in South India and Ceylon. (cf. *Jour.* xxiv 180; D'Oyly, Index).

331 **Palanchiya,** පලන්චිය ("Scaffolding ?") *Prancha,* "plank."

232 **Palaṅgana,** පලන්ගාන "Dish." *Palaṅgana,* "an oblong basin."

233 **Pán,** පාන් "Bread." *Pao. Raj.* 51 (73)

234 **Panela,** පනේල *Panela* "Panel." "Cross beams in the timber of roofs." (Nell, 45).

235 **Pankádu-Karáya** පන්කාදුකාරයා "Dandy." *Pancado,* which also means "taunt."

236 **Pap,** පාප් "Pope." *Papa.*

237 **Pappa,** පාප්පා "Paste." *Papa.*

238 **Papus,** පාපුස් "Slippers." C.P. *Papuses*

239 **Paraḷa,** පරාල "Rafter."

Nell gives *Parallello,* "the probable derivation, the rafters being arranged in parallel rows." (45). Gunasekara suggests a Dutch origin. But the Dutch used *pralen* as a foreign word (*Memoir of vanRhee,* 29). P. *Barra,* "bar," *Barrote,* "dim. rafter" (cf Denham, *Census Report,* 148).

240 **Paralu,** පරලු "Bran." C.P. *Farelha* (*Farelo*).

241 **Paraskuva,** පරස්කුව "Flask." *Frasco.*

242 **Pásku,** පාස්කු "Easter." *Pascoa.*

243 **Pastéla,** පස්තෑල "Pastry." *Pastel, Pastelhao.*

244 **Patága,** පතාග "Patága coin," dollar" C.P. *Patarca.*"

rix. (P. *Pataca, patacao, Anglice Pataka, Patacoon*).

"The Spanish piece of eight or *pataca* was introduced by the Portuguese....In Ceylon it was rated at 5 larins, *ridi paha.* It continued in use under the Dutch, whose standard coin was the silver rix dollar of very much the same value, and was employed

to pay the British troops (*Jour.* xxiv 181). The *rix-dollar* was in 1825 three quarters of the then value of the rupee " or the modern 75 cents, which sum is still known as *patágaya* or *ridi paha*" (*Ib* 183),

245 **Patroma,** පත්රොම් " A dress pattern." *Padrão,* " pattern," " part shown as sample" (Vieyra).

Patorama, meaning "cartridge," is from Dutch.

246 **Pattakka,** පත්තක්කා " Water-melon." *Pateca* from Arabic *battik, bittik* (cf. *Hob-Job*).

247 **Páttaya,** පාත්තයා " Goose." *Pato.*

248 **Pedaréruva** පෙදරේරුවා " Mason." *Pedreiro.*

249 **Péna,** පෑන " Pen." *Péna.*

250 **Pénere** පෙනේරෙ " Sieve " *Peneira.*

251 **Pepol,** පැපොල් " Papaw." *Papola.*

252 **Péra,** පේර " Guava." *Pera,* " pear."

The fruit and its name (*guava*) are alike Brazilian (*guyaba*). The commonest Hindustani and Persian names for the *guava* mean properly " pear " (*Hob-Job*). Robert Knox mentions " pare gediya ; like to our pear."

253 **Peragam,** පෙරගම් " Banns." *Pregao.*

254 **Perakadoru,** පෙරකදෝරු " Proctor." *Procurador.*

255 **Petsama,** පෙත්සම් / **Petissama,** පෙතිස්සම් " Petition." *Petiçao.*

256 **Petta,** පෙත්ත " Slice." (e.g. *pan petta*) *Fatia,* " Slice."

Dalgado (78) thinks it is a Port. derivation, but *Petta* is Sinhalese (*Námávaliya* 115).

257 **Pidalguva** පිදල්ගුව " Fidalgo." *Fidalgo.*

" The *fidalgo* (පිදල්ගුව) called Don Juan Arikku " (*Raj.* Ib.)

258 **Pigadu,** පිගදු " Liver." *Figado.*

259 **Pigura,** පිඟුර / **Pimburu,** පිඹුරු *Piguru-karadásiya* ; *Figura.* " figure of " survey."

260 **Pikama,** පිකම් " Pick-axe." *Picao.*

261 **Pintáru,** පින්තාරු " Paint." *Pintar.*

262 **Pintúra,** පින්තූර " Picture." *Pintura.*

263 **Pipiñña,** පිපිඤ්ඤ . " Cucumber." *Pepino.*

264 **Pirisenti,** පිරිසෙන්ති " President." *Presidente.*

265 **Pírissa,** පිරිස්ස " Saucer." *Pires.*

266	**Pistóle,**	පිස්තෝළ	"Pistol."	*Pistola.*
267	**Pítta,**	පිත්ත	"Ribbon."	*Fita.*
268	**Piyon,**	පියොන්	"Peon." "Foot-soldier," also "a pawn at chess."	*Peao* (from *pe*)
269	**Pórake,**	පෝරකෙ	"Gallows."	*Forca.*
270	**Pórama,**	පෝරම	"Mould."	*Forma.*
271	**Póranuva,**	පෝරනුව	"Oven."	*Forno.*
272	**Póruva,**	පෝරුව	"Lining."	C.P. *fur*, P. *forro*, "lining."
273	**Póruva,**	පෝරුව	"Dues."	*Foro.*
274	**Pratikal,**	ප්‍රතිකාල්	"Portugal."	*Portugal.*
275	**Pukáru,**	පුකාරු	"Drinking-cup."	*Pucaro.*
276	**Punílaya,**	පුනිලය	"Funnel."	*Funil.*
277	**Purtuges,**	පුර්තුගෙස්	"Portuguese."	*Portugez.*
278	**Pusalána** / **Kusalána,**	පුසලාන / කුසලාන	"Cup."	*Porcelana* (Dalg.).
279	**Puyara,**	පුයර	"Toilet-powder'	C.P. *Puir* (*Poiera*).
280	**Rabakíñña,**	රබකිඤ්ඤ	"Fiddle."	C.P. *Rabequin* (P. *Rabequinha* dim. of *Rabeca*).
281	**Rábu,**	රාබු	"Radish."	*Rabao.*
282	**Rámuva,**	රාමුව	"Picture-frame."	C.P. *Ramo.* of *D. Raam.*
283	**Ranchuva,**	රන්චුව	"Flock, gang."	*Rancho*, "a band, company."

In military parlance *ranchoo* equals 24 men (*C.L.R.* iv, 53), The Dutch wrote *Rantjes, Ranchies,* "bands of lascars" (Valentyn).

284 **Rapinádu,** රපිනාදු

"*Rapinadu karanava* is applied to the clearing or refining of a sugar syrup" (Nell. C.P. *Rafine*, to refine, *Rafinado.*)

285	**Ratiñña,**	රතිඤ්ඤ	"Cracker."	*Ratinha*, "little mouse," dim. of *Rato* (cf. *rachar*, "crack.")
286	**Rattala,**	රාත්තල	"Pound weight'	*Arratel.*
287	**Reda,**	රේද	"Reins."	*Redea.*
288	**Regimentu,**	රෙජිමේන්තු	"Regiment."	*Regimento.*

289	**Réguva,**	රේගුව	do	*Regoa,*(?)"rule."
290	**Rénda,**	රේන්ද	"Lace."	*Renda* (L. *rete*).
291	**Rénda,**	රේන්ද	"Rent."	*Renda,* "rent revenue." *Rendeiro,* (Sinh.Réndarála), "Renter"; Rénda-pola, "Toll station."
292	**Reparamádu,**	රෙපරමාදු	"Protestant."	*Reformado.*
293	**Retórna,**	රෙතෝර්න	"Return."	*Retorno.*
294	**Rippa,**	රිප්ප	"Lath."	*Ripa,* "shingle, lath."
295	**Riska,**	රිස්ක	"Striped cloth."	*Riscu* "stripe" (speaking of stuffs).
296	**Róda,**	රෝද	"Wheel."	*Roda.*
297	**Rulan,**	රුලන්	"Pollard."	*Roláo.*
298	**Saban,**	සබන්	"Soap."	*Sabáo.*
299	**Sákkuva,**	සාක්කුව	"Pocket."	*Saco.*
300	**Sakaramentuva,**	සකරමේන්තුව	"Sacrament."	*Sacramento.*
301	**Salada,**	සලාද	"Salad."	*Salada.*
302	**Sále,**	සාලේ	"Hall, drawing-room, of a house."	C.P. *Sale, Sala.*

In popular use practically the same as *Baránde.* The Sinhalese word *Sáláva,* from the Sanskrit, is a different word.

303	**Saleruva,**	සලේරුව	(*lunu saléruva*) "Salt-cellar."	*Saleiro.*
304	**Sankristan,**	සන්ක්‍රිස්තන්	"Sacristan."	*Sacristao.*
305	**Santa bastiyama,**	සන්ත බස්තියම	"San Sebastian."	*San Sebastiao.*
306	**Sántu,**	සාන්තු	"Saint."	*Santo.*
307	**Santumpitiya,**	සන්තුම්පිටිය	"Field of San Thome'	

(Couto x. viii. xii) and Queyroz. 743 "Campo de S. Thome," where stood the church, the precursor of the present St. Thomas' Church.

308	**Sapateruva,**	සපතේරුව	"Shoe-maker."	*Sapateiro.*
309	**Sapattuva,**	සපත්තුව	"Shoe."	*Sapato.*
310	**Sarampa,**	සරම්ප	"Measles."	*Sarampo.*

311	**Sarentu,**	සරෙන්තු	"Sergeant."	*Sergento.*
312	**Sarungóle,**	සරුංගෝලේ	"Paper-kite."	C.P. *Sarungola.*
313	**Saruvále,**	සරුවාළේ	"Short drawers."	*Ceroulas.*
314	**Sátan,**	සාතන්	"Satan."	*Satan, Satanas.*
315	**Sávalaya,**	සාවාලයා	"Shad."	P. *Savelha, Cavallo.*

"This is mentioned as a fish of Ceylon by Ives (1775). It is no doubt the same that is described in the quotation from Pyrard. 'Ces Moucois pescheurs prennent entr'autres grand quantite d' une sorte de petit poisson, qui n'est pas plus grand que la main et large comme un petit bremeau. Les Portugais l'appellent Pesche *cavallo*' " (*Hob-Job.* 176).

316	**Savódi,**	සවෝදි	"Health."	C.P. *Savodi* (*Saude*).
317	**Sáya,**	සාය	"Women's petticoat."	C.P. *Sáya* (P. *Saia, Saya, Sayo*).
318	**Séda,**	සේද	"Silk." Cf. Séda-watta (*Orta seda*).	*Seda.*
319	**Sédavatta,**	සේදවත්ත		*Orta Seda,* C.P. *Orta,* "Garden."
320	**Setin,**	සැටින්	"Satin."	*Setim.*
321	**Sidáde,**	සිදෑදෙ	"Town."	*Cidade.*
322	**Sidaran,**	සිදරන්	"Citron."	*Cidrao.*
323	**Simenti,**	සිමැන්ති	"Cement."	*Cimento.*
324	**Sinno,**	සිඤ්ඤ	"Sir."	*Senhor.*

(Also contraction of *visinho,* Di. 23)

325	**Sínu,**	සිනු	"Bell."	*Sino.*
326	**Sippi,**	සිප්පි (බොත් තම්)	"Mother-of-pearl."	Port. *Chipo,* "oyster" from Tamil *shippi* (சிப்பி)
327	**Sítasi,**	සිතාසි	"Summons."	*Citaçao.* C.P. *Cita,* "to summon."
328	**Soldáduva,**	සොල්දුදුවා	"Soldier."	*Soldado.*
329	**Sópava,**	සෝපාව	"Sofa."	*Sofá* (Arabic *Soffá*).
330	**Soróle,**	සොරෝළේ		*Charola,* "Processional car," *andor de processão.*
331	**Sórti,**	සෝර්ති	"Sort."	*Sorte.*

332	**Suluppuva,** සුලුප්පුව	"Sloop."	C.P. *Chulupo.*
333	**Sumána,** සුමාන	"Week."	C.P. *Sumana.* (P. *Semana*).
334	**Sumbaraya,** සුම්බරය	"Hat."	*Sombreiro,* (sun-shade) originally a "sun-hat" afterwards "umbrella."

Knox gives "sumbera, hat" (C.B.R.A.S.Jl. xiv 171). "In the Kandyan country the word *sumbaraya* means a head-dress. *Mundásanaya* (මුණ්ඩාසනය) and *sumbaraya* are synonymous." *Ib.*

335	**Susí,** සුසී	"Sister."	C.P. *Susse.*
336	**Tabakka,** තබක්ක	Anglice *Tomback.*	*Tambaca, Tombaqua,* "mixture of gold and copper" (Vieyra); rather an alloy of copper and zinc said to be of Chinese origin (*Tombac,* Faria).
337	**Táchchiya,** තාච්චිය	"A large earthen vessel, frying pan."	*Tacho.*
338	**Takséru-karanavá,** තක්සේරු කරනවා	"To rate."	*Taxar.*
339	**Tamboruva,** තම්බෝරුව	"Tambour."	*Tambor.*

1812 "Wattala Appu attends and informs that a man....came from Pusweylle Dissava....with Skin Strings for *Tamboors* (Drums), [D'Oyly, 156].

340	**Táppe,** තාප්පෙ	"Mud wall."	*Taipa,* from Arabic *tapia.*

Ribeiro (ch. x. II) said that the ramparts of Colombo were for a long time "*Taipa singella,*" which baffled Le Grand (86) and Lee (45); Pieris translated it "a single line of *taipa,*" and Nell (53) "Sinhalese walls." As Ferguson pointed out (*C.L.R.* iv 165), *taipa singella* means "simple mud." *Singelo,* "that which is not properly and decently dressed." Valentyn (197) called it *Typ.* (*C.L.R.* iii 233).

341 **Tarankiya,**	තරන්කිය	"Door-bar."	*Tranca.*
342 **Teberuma,**	තැබෑරැම	"Tavern."	*Taberna,* "public house."
343 **Temparádu,**	තැම්පරාදු	"A process in cooking. It is the last process, and requires butter or ghee."	*Temperado.*
344 **Tepéla,**	තැපෑල	"Post."	C.P. *Tapal, Tapalo.*

Anglo-Indian *Tappaul.* The origin is obscure.

(1803) Percival: "The distance from Colombo to Madras is upwards of five hundred miles, and yet the *tappals* are conveyed between these places in ten days by the *peons,* a cast of people employed for this purpose." (53).

One of the objects of Macdowal's embassy to Kandy, in 1800, was to obtain permission to open a road from Colombo to Trincomalee as hitherto the *tapals* or letter-bags had to be conveyed by a circuitous route." (*Ib.* 409).

345 **Testamentuva,**	තැස්තමේන්තුව	"Testament."	*Testamento.*
346 **Tinta,**	තින්ත	"Paint, ink."	*Tinta,* "ink, colours."
347 **Tíraya,**	තිරය	"Strip."	*Tira,* "Strip of cloth."
348 **Tiré,**	තිරේ	"Curtain."	*Tirar,* "to draw."

"I have heard this used by an Interpreter of the Supreme Court....to signify the wick of a lamp, and the witness under examination seemed to understand the term." (Nell).

349 **Tiringu,**	තිරිඟු	"Wheat."	*Trigo.*
350 **Tíruva,**	තිරුව	"Custom duty."	*Tiro,* (?) "shot."
351 **Tómbu,**	තෝම්බු	"Register."	*Tombo.*

"*Tómbuva* is now applied to Registers of marriages as well as *Tombus* or Registers of Lands" (Nell, 54).

352 **Toranke,**	තොරන්කෙ	"Stocks."	*Tronco.*
353 **Tuppahi,**	තුප්පහි	"Interpreter."	*Topaz.*
354 **Turumpu,**	තුරැම්පු	"Trumps."	*Trunfo.*
355 **Tuvaya,**	තුවාය	"Towel."	*Toalha.*
356 **Vendesi,**	වෙන්දේසි	"Auction."	C.P. *Vendas,* from Dutch.

357	**Véspara,**	වෑස්පර	"Vespers."	*Vesperas.*
358	**Víduru,**	විදුරු	"Glass."	*Vidro.*
359	**Villuda,**	විල්ලුද	"Velvet."	*Veludo.*
360	**Vinákiri,**	විනාකිරි	"Vinegar,"	*Vinacre.*
361	**Viskótu,**	විස්කෝතු	"Biscuit."	*Biscouto.*
362	**Visuré,**	විසුරේ	"Viceroy."	*Visorey.*

Raj. (56) refers to a "nephew oft he Viceroy"(විසුරේගේ බෑනා,)

363	**Viyóle,**	වියෝල	"Violin."	*Viola.*

THE PETA—VATTHU.

By Dr. Henry Snyder Gehman, Ph. D.

BOOK III.

(*Continued from Vol. VII, Page 204*).

The Peta Story of the Unbroken (Surface of the Waters)

WHILE the Teacher was dwelling in the Bamboo Forest, he told this story concerning a certain Peta who had been a huntsman.

On the west side of Benares, they say, beyond the Ganges as you pass Vásabhagáma, in a village called Cundaṭṭhilá, there lived a hunter. He killed deer in the forest, cooked the best meat on the embers, and ate it. The rest he bound in a basket of leaves which he carried on a pole to the village.

When the children saw him at the town gate, they stretched out their hands and ran up to him, crying, "Give me meat, give me meat." He gave them meat, to each one a little piece. Then one day he took no meat, but tied on the pole an *uddálaka* [1] flower and, with a large quantity of them in his hand, he went to the hamlet. When the children saw him at the village gate, they extended their hands and ran up to him, shouting, "Give me meat, give me meat." He gave each one of them a cluster of flowers.

Then, at a subsequent time, he died and was reborn among the Petas. He was naked and had a hideous form and a terrible appearance. He did not know food or drink even in a dream and had a bundle of *uddálaka* flowers tied to his head. He was walking upstream on the Ganges without breaking down on the water, for he thought: "At Cundaṭṭhilá, where my kinsmen live, I shall get something."

At that time King Bimbisára's minister named Koliya, was coming back after subduing the rebellious border countries. He

1. (L. *Cassia Fistula*; Sinh. *Esala, Ehela*; Tam. *Tirukkontai, Kavani*,—Ed. *C.A. & L.R.*)

sent home by land his elephants, horses, and other animals, his followers, and forces, and as he himself went down stream in a boat on the Ganges river, he saw the Peta who was going in the manner described, and asked him :

1. "Without cutting the surface of the waters, here upon the Ganges you go ; you are naked, yet on the other hand, as though free from your former lot, you wear garlands and are adorned. Whither may you be going, Peta ? Where might be your dwelling?"

Now, what was then spoken by the Peta and Koliya is narrated in the following stanzas by the redactors of the Holy Scriptures :

2. The Peta said : "I am going to Cundaṭṭhilá which lies between here and Vásabhagáma and near Benares."

3. And when the minister known as Koliya had seen him, he gave the Peta barley meal and boiled rice and two yellow cloaks.

4. Then he stopped his boat and caused a present to be given to a barber ; and after the donation was made to the barber, the result for the Peta was seen on the spot.

5. Then he was clad in fine garments and wore wreaths and was embellished. On the spot, as the Peta stood there, the alms became effective for him ; for this reason one should repeatedly bestow gifts on the Petas out of sympathy.

So Koliya, the minister, felt sorry for the Peta and gave him a gift in the prescribed fashion. He continued his course down-stream and arrived at Benares at sunrise. The Blessed One came through the air to bless them and stood on the bank of the Ganges. Koliya, the minister, disembarked from his boat, and, pleased and delighted, invited the Holy One, saying :

"Reverend Lord, do me this honour, consent to dine with me to-day."

The Blessed One in silence accepted the invitation. Perceiving that the Buddha had accepted, immediately in a beautiful spot he caused to be built a pavilion of branches, adorned on the four sides with manifold huts variegated with many different kinds of colours. In that place he prepared and gave a seat to the Blessed One.

The Buddha sat down in the seat arranged for him. Then the minister approached the Holy One, made obeisance, and rendered him homage with perfumes, flowers and other offerings, and sat down at one side. Then he related to the Buddha the words previously spoken by himself and the reply by the Peta. The Blessed One thought : "Let the Chapter of the monks come hither."

He had no sooner thought this than, impelled by the power of the Buddha, the Chapter of priests surrounded the King of Righteousness as a flock of golden swans surrounds Dhataraṭṭha, king of the swans.

Straightway a multitude came together, saying, "There will be a great sermon." When he saw this, the minister with a serene mind entertained with savoury, hard and soft food the Buddha and the Chapter of monks. After the Blessed One had finished his meal, out of compassion for the multitude he commanded: "Let those who dwell in the neighbourhood of Benares come hither."

All of them, a large crowd, congregated because of his supernatural power. He made eminent Petas appear to them. Among these some were wearing torn and rent cloths and rags, others had their secrets covered with nothing but their hair; some others, nude as they appeared at birth, covered with nothing but the skin, overcome with hunger and thirst, with bodies consisting only of bones, were walking hither and thither and appeared before the eyes of the great throng.

Then the Buddha effected such an exercise of supernatural power that, having assembled at that same place, they told the people the evil deeds which they had done. In the following verses the redactors of the Holy Scriptures set forth this incident:

6. Some dressed in ragged strips of cloth, others covered with their hair, the Petas go for food and roam from region to region.

7. Some set out for a far country and, without having received anything, return hungry, faint, confused, and crushed to earth.

8. And some, who had not done virtuous deeds in their previous existence, fall down there on the earth dejected; as though consumed by fire are they in the sunshine, saying:

9. "Formerly we were sinful wives and mothers of households. Although there are commandments for bestowing gifts, we did not provide a refuge for ourselves.

10. "For verily, though much food and drink were thrown away, we did not give anything to the assembled [2] ascetics.

11. "While we, delighting in misdeeds, lazy, fond of festivities, and eating much, were the bestowers of bits and morsels, we abused the recipients.

12. "Those houses and those hand-maidens, even those ornaments of ours, now are at the service of others; we have trouble as our portion.

2. *Samaggate*; read *samágate*, S1. S2.

13. "The basket makers' wives are to be despised and the women of the caste of the wheelwrights are perfidious; the female candálas and the barbers' wives [3] become miserable again and again.

14. "Among whatever families that are base and poor, just among those are they born. Such is the rebirth of the niggardly one."

15. They who in their previous existence performed good deeds, were benefactors, and free from avarice, shall fill heaven completely and illuminate the Nandana Grove.[4]

16. Rejoicing and delighting in pleasures, they shall know [5] the palaces; then when they die, they are born in high and wealthy families.

17. In an upper room, in a palace, upon a couch overlaid with a woollen coverlet,[6] illustrious in a good family, they who have subdued their bodies are born, having in their hands fans adorned with peacock feathers.

18. From place to place they go, wearing garlands and adorned; the rebirths are a service to those who desire pleasure both evening and morning.

19. Not to those that left meritorious works undone, but only to the performers of worthy acts belongs the sorrowless and beautiful Nandana Grove, the great forest of the Távatimsa angels.

20. For those who have not executed good deeds, there is joy neither in this world nor in the next; but for those that have achieved righteousness, there is happiness both even in this world and in that to come.

21. Much good can be accomplished by those desiring companionship; for they who performed good deeds are happy in heaven, enjoying treasures.

So to the excited minister Koliya and to the people who had assembled there, according to his intention the Buddha explained the Law in detail by making known the consummation of meritorious acts and the results of the deeds committed in common and individually by these Petas.

When the sermon was ended, the conversion of eighty-four thousand beings took place.

3. *Naháminí*; cf. *kappaka*, M. C. D. B.
4. A garden in Heaven.
5. *Vejayante*; read *vedayanti*, S1, S2, B.
6. *Gonasanthite*; read *gonakatthate*, M. C. D. B.

The Peta Story of Sánuvási.

Now while the Teacher was living in the Bamboo Forest, he told the story of the Peta kinsmen of the Elder of Sánuvási.

Once upon a time, they say, at Benares, the son of a king called Kitava, while returning from his enjoyment in the park, saw a Pratyeka-buddha, Sunetta by name, who was leaving a house in making his rounds for alms. Since the prince was intoxicated with the pride of his own importance, he entertained an evil thought:

"How then does this shaveling go about without making a respectful salutation?"

Accordingly, he descended from the back of his elephant and, with the words, "You have obtained some alms, have you?" he took the bowl from his hand and broke it by dashing it on the ground. Now the monk, through the possession of such a nature as his, was unchanged and gazed in all the directions, since he had, as we must know, his thoughts subdued and serene with the feeling of compassion and joy. The prince's mind, however, was corrupted with an inopportune malice, and he addressed him:

"Why do you not know me, the son of Kitava the king? Such a fellow as you, staring around, what will you do to me?"

Having thus derided him, he departed. He had hardly gone on his way when he was afflicted with an intense burning of his body like the pain caused by hell fire. His body was overpowered by this great torture; and overcome by the sensation of the very severe suffering, he died and was born in the great hell, Avíci. There he lay, now on his right, then on his left, side, drawn together on a heap as we might say, turning about in various ways, and after he had spent eighty-four thousand years in that condition, he died and was reborn among the Petas.

For an undefined period of time he endured the pangs of hunger and thirst, after which he passed away and, during the present Buddha-period, was reborn in the neighbourhood of Kuṇḍinagara in a fishermen's village. There came to him a knowledge of his previous existences. Accordingly, he remembered the misery which he had deservedly suffered before, and, although he was grown up, on account of his fear of evil he did not go even with his kinsmen to catch fish. While they were going to kill the fish, he was unwilling to accompany them and hid. Then he also broke their net, took the live fish, and threw them into the water. His relatives

declared it was his doing and expelled him from the house; one brother of his, however, cherished a real affection for him.

At that time the venerable Ánanda lived upon Mount Sánuvási, near Kuṇḍinagara. Then this fisherman's son, who was rejected by his kinsmen and wandering hither and hither, reached this place, and at meal-time came into the presence of the Elder. Upon questioning him the Elder learned that he wanted food, and so he gave him something to eat. At the end of the repast, when he found out all his experiences and, through a religious discourse, discerned that he had a believing heart, he induced him to become a monk by saying, "Brother, you should embrace the ascetic life." He assented with the words, "Indeed, reverend sir, I shall renounce the world."

After having ordained him, the Elder went with him into the presence of the Blessed One. Then the Teacher said to him, "Ánanda, you should pity this novice." For on account of his undeveloped cleverness he was receiving little alms. Now the Teacher treated him kindly and appointed him to fill the water-jars for the priests' meal. When the pious laymen saw him, they gave him many portions of food for a long time. At a subsequent time he received his priest's orders, and having attained saintship, he dwelt upon Mount Sánuvási with twelve monks.

His kinsmen, however, who had not heaped up meritorious virtues, but had accumulated wicked qualities consisting of avarice and other sins, at their death were reborn among the Petas. Now his father and mother feeling ashamed at the idea, "In a previous existence we cast him out of the house," did not approach him, but sent his brother who had cherished an affection for him. When this man had entered the village of the Elder for alms, he knelt on the earth with his right knee, made himself manifest with a respectful salutation, and spoke the stanzas, "Reverend sir, your mother and father etc." But the five stanzas beginning with "An Elder of Kuṇḍinagara" were placed first in the recension of the Scriptures in order to make clear the connexion.

1. There was an Elder of Kuṇḍinagara, dwelling on Sánuvási; he was an ascetic with purified senses, known by the name of Poṭṭhapáda.

2. His mother, father, and brother became miserable denizens of Yama's world. Since they had committed evil deeds, they went from here to the region of the Petas.

3. They were unfortunate, their bones stood out like needles, they were weary, naked, and emaciated. They were alarmed and in great anxiety ; nor did they appear formidable.

4. His brother came quickly, nude, alone on a solitary way. On all fours like a four-footed waterpot he showed himself to the sage.

5. Now the venerable man, without taking notice of him, silently departed ; he however addressed the Elder : " I am your brother who has gone to the Petas.

6. " Reverend sir, your mother and father are miserable members of Yama's world. Since they had done wicked deeds, they have gone from here to the world of the Petas.

7. " They are unfortunate, their bones stand out like needles, they are weary, naked and emaciated. They are alarmed and in great anxiety ; nor do they appear formidable.

8. " Be merciful and compassionate ; give a gift and ascribe to us the credit. By your gift which is bestowed, the cruel ones will maintain themselves."

9. When the Elder and the twelve other monks had gone their rounds, they assembled at the same place, having performed everything legitimate for the sake of obtaining food.

10. The venerable one addressed them all together : " Give me whatever you receive ; I shall make a dinner for the Fraternity out of kindness for my kinsmen."

11. They committed it to his care ; the sage invited the Chapter ; as the venerable one served the meal, he ascribed the virtue of the gift to his mother, father, and brother, saying : "Let this be for my kinsmen ; let my relatives be blessed."

12. Immediately after this was beheld, food was produced, clean, savoury, well prepared, richly supplied with flavours and condiments. Then declared his brother who had become handsome, strong, and happy :

13. " There is abundant food, reverend sir, but look, we are nude ; so, Lord, put forth your power that we may obtain clothes."

14. After the Elder had picked up some rags from a rubbish heap, he converted the cloths into garments and gave them to the Church of the four regions.

15. As he gave his offering, the venerable monk transferred the virtue of the gift to his mother, father, and brother, saying : " Let this be for my kinsmen ; let my relatives be blessed."

16. Immediately after this was beheld, clothes were produced; then dressed in fine raiment, he showed himself to the sage with the words:

17. "As many coverings as are in the kingdom of Nandarája, yea, reverend sir, we have more than that number of garments and mantles.

18. "They are of silk and of wool, of flax and of cotton; many and precious are they; moreover they are hanging in the sky.

19. "We, let me assure you, wear whichever one strikes our fancy. Also, Lord, put forth your power that we may obtain a house."

20. The Elder built a hut of leaves and presented it to the Church of the four regions. As he made his donation, the venerable monk ascribed the virtue of the gift to his mother, father, and brother, saying: "Let this be for my kinsmen; let my relatives be blessed."

21. No sooner was this beheld, than houses were produced. There were buildings with upper rooms and mansions which were divided and measured out into parts.

Peta.—22. "Not among mortals are such dwellings as we have here. Whatever habitations even the gods have, such ones we have here.

23. "Blazing brightly, on all sides the four regions are shining; so, Lord, exert your might that we may obtain a drink of water."

24. Then the sage filled a water-pot and gave it to the Church of the four regions. As he handed it over, the venerable one ascribed the credit of the gift to his mother, father and brother adding: "May this be for my kinsmen; may my relatives be blessed."

25. Immediately after this was beheld, drinking water was produced; there were four deep well-laid-out[7] lotus-ponds.

26. They had clear waters and beautiful banks; they were cool and free from unpleasant odours; they were covered with the pink lotus and the blue lotus and full of the filaments of the water-lily.

27. Then after they had bathed and drunk, they brought the following to the Elder's notice: "Reverend sir, we have abundant water, but our feet are painfully chapped.

7. *Sanimmitá*; read *sumi* with B; cf. *P.V.* II, 1, 19 *sunimmitá*.

28. "As we roam about, we limp upon the gravel, the grass, and the thorns. So, Lord, use your power that we may obtain a carriage."

29. The sage took a shoe and presented it to the Church of the four regions. As he gave it, the venerable one transferred the credit of the gift to his mother, father, and brother, with the words: "May this be for my kinsmen; may my relatives be blessed."

30. No sooner was this beheld, than the Petas approached in a chariot, saying: "Your reverence, out of sympathy we were furnished with food and clothes,

31. "With a house and with drinking water and a vehicle as gifts, Lord, we have come hither to pay homage to you, the compassionate one among the seers in the world."

The Elder told this incident to the Blessed One. The Buddha made this story his theme, saying: "Just as these now, so will you also endure great misfortune as soon as your existence has passed from this world and you have become a Peta."

At the request of the Elder he narrated the *Suttapetavatthu* (the Peta story of the thread, *P.V.* II, 11) and preached a sermon to the assembled folk. When the people heard him, there was a great conversion and they found joy in performing meritorious deeds consisting of charity, good conduct and other virtues.

Notes & Queries.

"POPULAR CULTS OF THE JAFFNA DISTRICT."[1]

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired).

I AM obliged to Father Gnana Prakasar for kindly correcting certain misspellings in my paper on this subject. I was doubtful whether my spellings of Tamil proper names were in all cases correct, and thought quite likely that some were not; but sixteen years' absence and six thousand miles' distance from Jaffna made it difficult for me to correct them, and I am glad that a competent Tamil scholar has taken the trouble to do it.

But is it not a slight exaggeration to say that "a number.... have unfortunately been misspelt almost beyond recognition"? The Father quotes seven (I wish he had quoted all) and in five of these the only mistakes are:—

u for *a* in two
i for *a* in one
r for *n* in one
b for *p* in one (represented in Tamil by the same letter)
b for *k* in one.

All of these are easily accounted for when it is considered that they were copied from pencil MS. notes, in which *as* might easily be mistaken for *us*, and *n* for *r*. In none of these instances can it be said that they made the name "almost beyond recognition." But there remain "Koli" for "Kotti," and "Kadumba" for "Idumpan" of which this perhaps might be said. The former word was not in my handwriting and it was spelt with but one *t*. I supposed that I had written '*koti*,' and not "*koli*," but I have not my paper here.

Further on Father Gnana Prakasar refers to my "equation of Mari-amman," and says that "no one..ever calls Our Lady Mari-amman.. no native will ever confound it with Mári-amman." But as what I wrote *was* "Mári-amman" (*a* long), he is denying what I never said. Possibly the long mark was in the printed

1. *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. VII, p. 148.

article omitted. And Father Gnana Prakasar himself has in his "Note" both 'Chunnakam' and 'Chunnákam,' and in 'Navatkuly' the long mark is omitted.

Mr. Petch, in his paper published in the same number of the *Ceylon Antiquary*, with apt alliteration refers to many of the traps of transliteration. It seems to me that Father Gnana Prakasar has not escaped some of them. There are certain well-known systems used, one for both Sinhalese and Tamil, which was adopted by the Ceylon Government; another by the late Mr. William Goonetilleke, when editor of the *Orientalist*; a third by the *Indian Antiquary* and, I believe, by the late Mr. Donald Ferguson. But Father Gnana Prakasar uses none of these, his method is either phonetic or none at all. For instance, he represents the *u* in 'Puttoor' in two different ways, when all that was necessary was to use the *u* in both places where it occurs; in one case with the addition of the long mark. So with 'Poojari' which, in my opinion, would be much better written 'Pusari.' Why too does he introduce the superfluous letter *y* to represent the final *i*, as in 'Mahiyappiddy,' 'Návatkuly,' etc.? Here too he is not consistent, for he writes at the same time 'Cheddi,' 'Poojari,' etc.

To write 'Atchuvely' for 'Achchuveli' seems to me next door to misspelling the word. And is 'Vannarponne' the correct way to spell the name of the Jaffna suburb? I thought it was 'Vannarponnai' but I may have forgotten.

The translation 'Guardian Kali' was given me by a Hindu religionist.

THE "KORONCHI" CEREMONY.

By Robert J. Pereira.

THE Western custom requiring the presence of the flower-girls at weddings approximates to the *Koronchi* ceremony; possibly also the attendant ceremonies in connection with Tamil weddings bear a family resemblance to both these customs.

It is interesting to note, in connection with the *Koronchi* ceremony, that the common belief is that if the *Koronchi*, after being fastened to the hair, comes off, the incident is looked upon as a bad omen for the bride; it is also significant that the good girl who has the pleasant function of placing the *Koronchi* in the

bride's hair is in the vicarious position of attracting to herself the effects of " the evil eye " in the bride.

The word is a corruption of the Dutch word *Kroontje*. The custom of placing a circlet or coronet on the bride's head at a certain part of the wedding ceremony existed among the Dutch descendants in Jaffna and continued to do so up to so late as the year 1856. The custom is briefly described in the *Journal* of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon (Vol. 1, 1908, pages 216-217) thus :—

" On the return of the bridal pair from the church, they were met at the entrance of the house, either by the bride's parents or by a married couple of their intimate acquaintance. In the latter case the choice was made of a couple blessed with a quiver full of olive branches, to ensure, it was said, that the same pleasure of blessing would attend the newly married pair.

" The bride was then conducted to a seat under a prettily decorated canopy, from which was suspended a coronet which was made to descend on the head of the bride, while the musicians (violinists usually) played a soft and suitable air. With the coronet was a tiny jewel in the shape of a dove, the emblem of purity : this was surrounded by a mass of delicate filigree work with a tremulous motion, called ' trimiduros.'

" The *Kroonjonker*, or bestman, had now to detach the jewel and place it with a rosette on a small silver salver, which he handed to the *Kroon-nooi*, or chief bridesmaid. She in turn presented the salver to the bridegroom, who had to take the jewel and pin it on the dress of the bride, and then the bride pinned the rosette on the breast of the bridegroom. While this was going on the music became very spirited and lively.

" The next thing was for the *strooi-jonkers*, or groomsmen, to present each of the *strooi-noois*, as the bridesmaids were called, with a salver containing *strooisel*, or confetti, which they had to strew on the bride and bridegroom. Then each *strooi-nooi* pinned a rosette or favour on the breast of her *strooi-jonker*. This part of the ceremony over, the bride was conducted by the bridegroom into the audience hall or drawing room, where a raised seat, called the *istarada*, was ready for her, and there she received the congratulations of the wedding guests."

SINHALESE PLANT NAMES.

By T. Petch.

THE following notes may afford some information on the questions raised by Mr. J. P. Lewis in the *Ceylon Antiquary*, (Vol. VIII, pp. 64, 65).

"*Hinguru*" for *Lantana* is a transference from *Acacia caesia*, the resemblance being the prickly nature of both plants. The prefix "*Raṭa*" distinguishes between the two.

The Tamil "*Savakku maram*" (*Chavukku*), whip tree, for *Casuarina*, has the Sinhalese equivalent "*Kasa.*" There does not appear to be any parallel to this name in other countries. It is known elsewhere as the Horse-tail tree, which seems a rather better comparison.

We have no recorded Sinhalese or Tamil names for most of the other introduced trees mentioned, viz.: "*Flamboyante*," *Grevillea*, *Eucalyptus* (Red Gum), *Amherstia*, "*Inga Saman*," and *Spathodea*; but the Baobabs of Mannar and Delft are known as "*Papparappuli*" and "*Perukka.*"

With regard to "*Inga Saman*," it may be noted that people frequently mistake this for a Tamil name. I hasten to add that I do not suspect Mr. Lewis of that error. It hails really from South America. "Inga" is a common name there for leguminous trees, and one of these is known by the native name, "Inga Saman," "Saman Inga," or in one spelling, "zamang." When this tree was first christened botanically, "Inga" was taken as the generic name and "Saman" as the specific, so that the name became *Inga Saman* in botanical "Latin." Subsequent generic transfers have made it *Pithecolobium Saman*. The name gave occasion for an amusing misunderstanding of another order on the part of a late Ceylon official. After he had been some months in the island, he enquired with an air of bewilderment: "But why do you call that tree the English Almond." ?

As for the English names bestowed on trees in India, these do not appear to have very much greater stability than vernacular names in general. The name "Railway Creeper" is apparently applied to one plant only, viz., *Ipomaea pulchella* Roth., the *Ipomaea palmata* of the *Flora of British India* and Trimen's *Flora of Ceylon*; we have no recorded Sinhalese name for this. The "Gold Mohur" is usually *Poinciana regia*, the "Flamboyante," but it is also applied to *Caesalpinia pulcherrima*. The "Pride of India" is *Lagerstroemia Flos-Reginae*, or the Bead Tree, *Melia Azedarach*. According to the *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India*, *Stereospermum chelonioides* is "Padri" (Bomb.), "Padhri" (Mar.), "Padri" (Tam.) and "Pader" (Hind.), but *Stereospermum suaveolens* is also "Padri" in Tamil. Trimen gives "Padri" as the Tamil name of *Stereospermum chelonioides* in Ceylon.

"Flame of the Forest" I have not met with. The *Flamma sylvarum* of Rumphius is *Ixora coccinea*, but the name is usually translated "Flame of the Woods." Perhaps some author has adopted a more alliterative translation. As for Flame trees in general, the name may be given to any tree which is especially conspicuous when in flower, more particularly if the flowers are some shade of red. The editor of the *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India* lists as Flame trees: *Amherstia, Bombax malabaricum, Butea frondosa, Butea superba, Caesalpinia pulcherrima, Cochlospermum Gossypium, Lagerstroemia Flos-Reginae, Poinciana regia, Rhododendron arboreum*, and adds "etc., etc."

The "Neem" of India is the "Margosa" of Ceylon, *Azadirachta indica*. The "Peepul" is the "Bo," *Ficus religiosa*. The "Babool" is *Acacia arabica*. The "Dhak" is *Butea frondosa*, the Sinhalese "*Gas-kela*" and the Tamil "*Parasu*;" it occurs in the dry region of Ceylon, but is rather rare, though locally abundant; it is one of the trees which attract the attention of Government Agents.

The scientific name of the Sinhalese "*Halmilla*" is, as Mr. Lewis states, *Berrya Ammonilla*. When Roxburgh named this species, he believed that the Sinhalese name was "*Ammonilla*,"—hence the specific name.

As far as I am aware, there is only one species of "*Caju*" in Ceylon, and it is not known what constitutes the alleged difference between "*Caju*" and "*Raṭa-caju*." All "*Caju*" trees in Ceylon are descended from introduced stock. Similarly, the foreign species of "Jak" (*Artocarpus integrifolia*) in the Matara district is unknown to me, except in so far as all "jaks" in Ceylon are foreign. There are numerous varieties of the "jak," and of recent years some other species of *Artocarpus* have been introduced, but the latter have not become generally distributed. On the other hand, "*Del*" and "*Raṭa-del*" are two different species, the former being the wild *Artocarpus nobilis*, and the latter, the introduced Bread-fruit (*Artocarpus incisa*). Thunberg, who travelled round the coast from Colombo to Matara (1777), referred to both the Jak and the Bread-fruit as Bread-fruit, and he stated that the smaller one without seeds (*i.e.*, the true Bread-fruit) was properly known in Ceylon as the "Maldivian Sour Jak."

The "Four o'clock flower" is *Mirabilis Jalapa*, also known as "Marvel of Peru," "Afternoon Ladies," etc.,: its Sinhalese name is "*Sendrikka*." Holsinger gives the Tamil name, "*Nalu-*

manee-poo," which is merely a translation of the English one. The Indian Tamil name is " *Patharachi*."

" *Kobo-neela* " (p. 61) was given by Moon for *Bauhinia purpurea* ; it has not been recorded since.

My attempts to solve Mr. Lewis' final query have not been altogether successful, but from the botanical standpoint the following facts appear to be correct. The " Ti " plant (not tree) of New Zealand was originally described as *Cordyline Ti*, and is now considered identical with *Cordyline terminalis*. The latter is generally grown in gardens throughout the tropics, and it is the common Ceylon " *Dracaena* " which so often serves to indicate the way to an estate bungalow, but except that in such cases it provides evidence of a long chair and a long drink not far off, it is nothing to grow enthusiastic over. In Australia, however, trees of the genus *Melaleuca* are known as " Tea trees," and there is a Broad-leaved Tea Tree, a Narrow-leaved Tea Tree, etc. But according to all botanical writers, the latter are " Tea " trees, and the name " Ti " is applied only to *Cordyline terminalis*.

NORTHERN PROVINCE FOLKLORE.

By Rev. S. Gnana Prakasar, o.m.i.

I. How certain Tutelary Gods came to be adopted by certain Castes.

ONCE upon a time a wicked giant waged a terrible war against all the gods. As he advanced to capture and destroy them, they all took to their heels and dispersed in various directions to find hiding places for the safety of their lives. **Mudimannan** (*i.e.*, crowned king) betook himself to the dwelling of a Pariah chief called **Valliyakkan** and hid himself in the weaver's pit. He then became the god of the Pariah clans, together with Valliyakkan himself.

The god **Periyatambiran** ran to find shelter with a washerman who hid him under his wide-mouthed water-pot (called Sál). Hence this god became the tutelary deity for all washermen.

[*Note* :—His worship consists chiefly in tying the mouth of the Sál with a white cloth, taking it in procession to the sound of *parai*, &c., and then ceremoniously boiling rice before it as an oblation.]

The god **Iyan** sought sanctuary with a Kóviyan who protected him against the onslaught of the wicked giant and made him the god of his caste.

Kotti hid herself in a pregnant woman's house and became the goddess of the lying-in-women.

[*Note*:—She is a dwarf creature, about a cubit in height, and is fond of betel and cigars ! She is worshipped on the fifth day after confinement by a ceremony known as "the dismissal of Kotti," when the midwife carries away the mat on which the woman lay, with a little of each kind of food she had eaten, to some open place or jungle. Omission of this rite is supposed to result in some misfortune or other to the newborn babe.]

Lastly, the **Annamár** (lit. the elder brothers) took refuge with the Paḷḷar whose gods they have ever remained.

[*Note*:—For another account of Aṇṇamár see the *Ceylon Antiquary*, VII, 149.]

II. Origin of the temples to Pattini in the North.

Kóvalan, the husband of Kaṇṇakai (or Pattini), had been cut to pieces by the unreflecting Pandiyan. Kaṇṇakai, going out in search of her murdered husband, and finding his body in pieces, stitched them together with thread and needle and gave him life by her eminent virtue. But when Kóvalan awoke as if from a slumber, he queried: "Is it Mátavy (*i.e.*, his concubine) or Kaṇṇakai who stands by ?" Kaṇṇakai became indignant, seeing that even after receiving his life from her hands Kóvalan put the concubine's name in the first place ; and forthwith she was changed into a five-headed serpent (Aintalai-nákam)—some say she rode a five-headed serpent—and crept away in a southerly direction from Madura. She made a first halt at Nainá-tívu ; then passing through Suraḍḍuppanai (near Vaḍḍukkóḍḍai) she stopped at the following places : Sírany, Ankanákkaḍavai, Muttumáriyamman-kóil, Aḷaveḍḍy South and Suḷuvil. Her passage was marked by a depression in the soil—what is now the bed of Vaḷukkai-Aru (a river formed in the rainy season.)

[*Note*:—All the places in the story have either Naga temples or Naga shrines together with temples to Amman under one of her many names. The temple at Sírany is known as that of Nákaammáḷ (female) ; those of Aḷaveḍḍy S. and Suḷuvil as of Nákatambirán (male).]

The above is the story as told in Valikamam West. In Tenmaradchy there is a variant : Kaṇṇakai travelled from Náka-tívu through Kóppay, Maḍḍuvil Vélampiráy and Kachcháy (*Note*:—There are temples to Kaṇṇakai in all these places) and went to

Nákar-kóil. From here she passed to Puḷiyam-pokkaṇai in Karachchi and thence to Vattuppaḷai near Mullaitivu.

[*Note*:—At Nákar-kóil snake worship is rife to the present day. Vattuppaḷai is called Kaṇṇakai-amman-kóil and attracts several hundreds of people from all parts of the North on the annual feast day. Possibly what had been originally snake-temples were later converted into Pattini temples. Other stories relating to the Maḍḍuvil Kaṇṇakai-kóil called Panrit-talaichchy Amman and to Puḷiyam-pokkaṇai are given below.]

III. Panrit-talaichchy Amman.

Once upon a time a Pariah had killed a stolen bull for beef, and when the owners were about to catch him red-handed with the bull's head in his hands, he prayed to Amman to save him from the mishap. And lo ! the bull's head was changed into that of a pig (*panry*). From that day they began to worship Panrit-talaichchy Amman.

[*Note:*—Perhaps Panrit-talaichchy stands for Táyumánavar i.e. Siva who once took the form of a sow for suckling some motherless young pigs.]

IV. How the snakes left Puliyam-pokkanai.

There is a snake-temple at Puḷiyam-pokkaṇai to the present day. Formerly snakes used to swarm about the courtyard and compound of the *poosári* (or temple-priest). Once the wife of the *poosári* was so much annoyed at their entwining with one another and encumbering the courtyard which she was engaged in sweeping, that she hit some of them with her broom-stick. And lo ! they all began to creep away in all haste. The path they traversed is still called *Nákam-sarinta-sólai. i.e.,* the grove through which the snakes filed past. The *poosári* seeing this sad happening ran after them to coax them to return. Meanwhile all had disappeared save and except a blind snake which he was able to capture. This he brought to his temple for receiving his daily adorations. This snake is invisible to ordinary mortals. Privileged ones alone are able to see it on rare occasions.

V. Snake-story connected with Nákar-kóil.

The Naga-temple of Nákar-kóil is a miraculous shrine. If any injury is done to snakes there, the god Náka-tambirán is sure to cut them to pieces that very midnight. Near Nákar-kóil is to be found a spot covered with Náka-piraṇḍai or Perum-piraṇḍai (a large species of *Vivitis quadrangularia*). If with the stalks of this piraṇḍai you strike the palm-leaf gate of your enemy some

calamity is sure to befall him, if he does not die at once. But to pluck stalks from the shrub is no easy matter. The operation has to be performed by night. From a distance the hissing of the "snake-shrub" can be heard. One has to go naked and with one's head covered with a new pan. If you fail to take this precaution, you will be bitten by the snakes.

SIR HARDINGE GIFFARD.

By J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired).

THE incident mentioned in the following extract from the columns of a *Ceylon Observer* of some two or three years ago, should have been included in my account of Sir Hardinge Giffard which appeared in the last number of the *Ceylon Antiquary*:—

"A chatty contributor to the *Morning Post*, writing about 'Links with the Past,' mentions one afforded by the Earl of Halsbury, the nonogenarian ex-Chancellor. His uncle, Sir Hardinge Giffard, once Chief Justice of Ceylon, as a young man at the Irish Bar fought a duel with Napper Tandy, whom he severely wounded (says the contributor.) Before going to Ceylon, Giffard lived in a house in Lower Fitzwilliam Street, Dublin, owned by Benjamin Disraeli, the uncle of Lord Beaconsfield, who (that is the uncle) was a working jeweller in the Irish capital. When Disraeli died in 1805, he left to his friend, Mr. Hume, M.P., the house of which Sir Hardinge Giffard was the tenant."

A SINHALESE WINNOWER'S SONG.

By H. Don Clement.

1.

The hill-sides are bathed in the golden sunshine,
The winnowing scaffold is up,
I stand on the pole with the grain-filled basket,
The grain that shall fill the God's cup.
Now blow, blow, you wind, from the distant ocean,
The chaff from the good grain to part.
Now, a strong steady blast, Oh, hasten, hasten;
Prepare the good grain for the cart.

2.

Now the wind is erratic ; now it is firm,
Now the grain shall pour out right fast,
And now the basket that first is parted ;
There too's room for another cast ;
So hasten ; and hand up another basket,
You dear, dear child of my heart.
I thank you, it is truly, truly well done.
Go, grain divide now, for the mart.

3.

And now the wind has stopped, and the sun has set,
The West is bathed in purple-gold,
The zephyrs bear the jasmine, the iron-wood scent.
And the kine walk to the fold.
The winnowing too has now come to a stop,
The good grain has filled full the cart.
Now, o'er hill, o'er dale, home we will go
Jak ! *mak* ! *pita* ! *pita* !—Bulls start.

MORE ABOUT MAJOR DAVIE.

By D. P. E. Hettiaratchi.

THE recent articles which appeared in the *Ceylon Antiquary* testify to the interest revived in Major Adam Davie through the patient researches of Miss. V.M. Methley, F.R.Hist.S.,—a great-grand-daughter of one of Davie's sisters. One of her discoveries is the report made about Major Davie by Major Donald Mackey of the 3rd Ceylon Regiment, on the orders of His Excellency Sir Robert Brownrigg.[1]

The information for this report appears to have been received from one Krishnania, a native of Tanjore, who attended Davie in his last illness. To one of the questions of Major Mackey, Krishnania has replied that Major Davie had no servant of his own. Sir John D'Oyly's diary entry for November 13, 1811, shows that Davie "suffered insult from his Malabar servant,"[2] but it is difficult to say whether it refers to a servant of his own. However, Davie

1. *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. V, Part IV, p. 169.
2. C. B. R. A. S. Journal No. 69, p. 62.

writing from London on 9th July, 1801, wants R. Sullivan, Esqr., to obtain a passage to Ceylon for himself and *servant, a native of India.*[3]

I have traced with some labour an interesting communicated article on Major Davie, appearing in the *Colombo Observer* of 22nd April, 1844 (vide infra.). It speaks of one Ram Sing, a Marata man, who was Davie's dressing boy at the time of the massacre (1803). I suggest that Ram Sing is the servant referred to in that letter.

Be that as it may, there appears to be an error and some confusion as regards Ram Sing's details of the sad end of Major Davie. He says that Davie shot himself with a pistol, and that his remains lie in Uva covered with a carved slab. His statement that Davie lived in Uva has an air of truth. According to D'Oyly's *Diary* Major Davie lived at Badulla in 1812.[4] Ram Sing also mentions that Davie was alive after the British occupation of the Kandyan provinces, and it is curious to find W. Knighton, in his *Tropical Sketches or Reminiscences of an Indian Journalist,* states that "it is related in Ceylon, although I cannot vouch for the truth of the report, that on the occupation of the interior in 1815, Davie was still alive, but, aware of the execrations heaped on his head by his fellow-countrymen in the island, dared not reveal himself, and lived with a Sinhalese wife in the savage style of a native in the remote part of the large tract to the east of Kandy, called Bintenna, where even at the present day the face of a white man is not seen once, perhaps, for many years."[5]

It may also be added that Lawrie in his *Central Province Gazetteer* records that some say Davie did not die until immediately before the entry of the English to Kandy in February, 1815.[6]

These conflicting details may be due to the fact that "the Kandyan Government, which demanded for the ransom of the captive a seaport, circulated false reports that he was alive." The probable date of Davie's death is *Medindina* of 1812.[7]

I shall here quote the *Observer* article above referred to :—

"On the top of the Yattewatta Pass, half way between Kurunegala and Matale, I, curiously enough, stumbled upon a character who related particulars of interest to the public, if made generally known.

"He says he was Major Davie's dressing boy at the time of the capitulation and massacre—is a Marata man—has been 40 years in this country—was 12 when he came—appears to be fully 52 years old, and hale and hearty—had a muffin, a tumbler, a brandy bottle, a long dress and dressing gown of his master's in a bundle

3. *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. IV, Part IV, p. 181.
4. C. B. R. A. S. Journal No. 69, p. 93.
5. Vol. II, p. 338. De Butt's *Rambles in Ceylon* (p. 168), says Davie managed to elude the strict search that was made for him. He died in 1816.
6. Vol. II. p. 565.
7. C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Index, p. XVI.

at the time—master and he alone spared—all the rest who did not go over to the Kandyans were chopped down in pairs—some Malays and Kaffirs went over—a few Jemindars kept some days alive—Major Davie's clothes, plates, spoons, and European things taken away ; and Sinhalese things, and clothes furnished—was well dressed, allowed a retinue of fan-bearers, &c., and ordered to have respect paid him—was sent to Uva lest he should escape—he let his beard grow, lived like a native—had children now alive in Badulla—this servant was with him all the time, more than 14 years—after the country was taken, Major Davie was ashamed and afraid to make himself known—he had forgotten English so as to be unable to speak fluently. He enjoyed very ill health, became latterly very despondent—at last his existence was discovered by the then Governor who sent for him—he was at the time sick in body and at heart, and loaded a pistol and shot himself under the chin—his remains lie in Uva covered with a carved slab of stone—he had children who are now alive in Badulla, and about whom the Governor interested himself and offered to educate and protect them, but their Sinhalese relatives would not allow their removal—Major Davie was very amiable in temper and disposition—was idolized by Sinhalese and all who knew him. After his death his servant was ordered by Government to live at Kurunegala where he resided from 7 to 10 years—was 3 years thereafter, in charge of the Kawidapola tappal station—and has been 15 years at the place of his present residence. His name is Ram Sing—his parents came down from beyond Hyderabad in General Wellesley's time and settled about Poothocotta and Trichinapoly—he knew English, Tamil, Hindustani and his native Marata, but can speak none well now—is all but quite a Sinhalese—his father kept 4 horses—has been too long away to care for home—has never heard from home—has now a village wife, part of a paddy field, two or three gardens stocked with vegetables and fruits reared by his own hand—keeps a pony on which he occasionally goes to Kandy—was well known and much noticed by gentlemen formerly, and mentioned Colonel Kelly, Colonel Fraser and others—he is a fine looking old man with a grey beard, a pleasing, contented countenance, and intelligent expression."

I shall conclude this note with the following reference to Davie found in MacFarlane's *Indian Empire* :—

"A story was circulated and for some time believed, that he had become enamoured of a Kandyan princess, that the King and the Chief Adigar had promised him the hand of this lady, together with rank of a Prince or Adigar, and an extensive territory, and the command of the troops. There was nothing of the sort: Davie was no traitor ; he was only an ass or an old woman with a soldier's coat on his back and a Major's commission in his pocket-book. For some time he was detained a close prisoner at Kandy ; but, it is said, under such strict surveillance that he could not make his escape. But it may be doubted whether he ever had the spirit to risk his skin in an attempt ; and, if he had escaped from the Kandyans, he could scarcely have escaped a British Court-Martial."

Literary Register.

IN CEYLON A CENTURY AGO.

The Proceedings of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society.

WITH NOTES BY T. PETCH.

(*Continued from Vol. VIII., Page* 91.)

AT a General Meeting held on Monday the 17th of September, 1821.

Present.—

His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, President.
The Hon'ble the Chief Justice
The Hon'ble and Venerable the Archdeacon } Vice-Presidents.
Doctor Farrell

Lieut.-Colonel Wright	J. Deane, Esquire
A. H. Marshall, Esquire	Captain Dawson
The Revd. J. Glenie	A. Moon, Esquire
The Revd. A. Armour	G. Turnour, Esquire

The Lieutenant-Governor having been called to the Chair, the Secretary reads the proceedings of the last General Meeting of the Society, and the letters that he has dispatched in pursuance of the directions therein contained.

The Society proceed to ballot for the admission of J.W. Bennett, Esqr., as Member, proposed at the last Meeting.

He is elected accordingly, which the Secretary is ordered to signify to him.

Returns on Natural History.

The Secretary lays before the Meeting a Letter from the Modliar of the Hapitigam Corle, and the Forms of Returns on subjects of Natural History that had been sent to him, most of them filled up.

These Returns having been inspected, His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor moves that the thanks of the Meeting be

communicated to Don Samuel Ameresekere, Modliar of the Hapitigam Corle, for the promptitude and readiness with which he has complied with the wishes of the Society, and proposes that he should be admitted an Honorary Member thereof,—which motion and proposal being unanimously acceded to, the Secretary is ordered to write accordingly.

Observations on the Barometer.

A communication from Lieutenant-Colonel Wright giving cover to a paper containing observations on the Barometer as applicable to the Island of Ceylon, and to other intertropical situations, as well as to the Cape, are next read to the Meeting.

Thereupon the Chief Justice moves that the thanks of the Meeting be given to Lieut.-Colonel Wright for the valuable Information contained in the Paper just read, which is seconded by the President and unanimously voted.

The Secretary is ordered to refer Colonel Wright's Paper to the Sub-Committee of Geology, Mineralogy, and Geography.

It is also proposed by the Chief Justice and carried that the Revd. Andrew Armour be elected a Member of the Sub-Committee of Natural History, which that Gentleman, who is present, accedes to.

Leaf Insect.

The Secretary is directed to communicate the thanks of the Meeting to William Gisborne, Esqr., for the very curious specimen of the *Mantis Urbana* or leaf insect sent by him from the Caltura District.

A Petition from a Mr. Philips soliciting the situation of Clerk to the Society having been presented to the Society, It is ordered that it be referred to the General Committee for Examination into his Qualification, and to report the salary that should be assigned him.

Adjourned to Monday, the 15th of October.

At a General Meeting held on Tuesday, the 16th of October, 1821.

Present.—

The Hon'ble the Chief Justice
The Hon'ble the Puisne Justice
The Hon'ble J. W. Carrington, Esqre.
The Hon'ble and Ven'ble the Archdeacon
Dr. Farrell.
} Vice-Presidents.

Lieut.-Col. Wright	John Deane, Esqre.
The Revd. C. Lyon	Alex. Moon, Esqre.
Lieut. Gascoygne	J. W. Bennett, Esqre.
The Revd. A. Armour	Geo. Turnour, Esqre, Secy.

Sir Hardinge Giffard in the Chair.

The Secretary reads the Proceedings of the last General Meeting of the Society.

Horticulture.

A Paper on the state of Horticulture in Ceylon and containing suggestions for its improvement transmitted to the Secretary under a Blank Cover, and bearing neither date or signature is next read.

Ordered that it be referred to the Sub-Committee of Natural History and Agriculture for its report thereon.

Observations on the Barometer.

The following report of the Sub-Committee of Geology, Mineralogy and Geography on Lt.-Col. Wright's observations on the Barometer having been read, that " The Letter from George Turnour Esqr., Secretary to the Ceylon Literary Society, conveying the paper of Lieut.-Col. Wright, Royal Engineers, on the subject of the Barometer, to the Sub-Committee of Geology, Mineralogy and Geography and requesting a Report thereon having been laid before the said Sub-Committee together with the Paper alluded to, the Gentlemen composing the same are of opinion that the paper of Lt.-Col. Wright should be recorded and printed."

The Paper above mentioned having already been printed in the *Ceylon Gazette,* it only remains to be entered in the Proceedings of the Society, which it is ordered be recorded accordingly.

[The paper was published in the *Ceylon Gazette,* Sept. 22, 1821.]

The Hon'ble the Puisne Justice proposes that the Revd. Bulkely Fox and the Revd. Benjamin Clough be admitted as Members of this Society.

Ordered that these Gentlemen be ballotted for at the next Meeting.

Leaf Insect.

A Letter from Henry Augustus Marshall, Esqre., descriptive of the *Mantis Urbana,* and accompanied by a Drawing of the Insect by Mrs. Marshall, from life, are laid before the Meeting.

Ordered on the motion of the Chief Justice that the thanks of the Society be given to H. A. Marshall, Esqre., for his Communication and for the drawing received therewith.

Snakes.

A Paper on the Snakes of Ceylon sent by J. G. Kriekenbeek, Esqre., is laid before the Meeting, for which the Secretary is instructed to communicate the thanks of the Meeting to that Gentleman.

A note from V. W. Vanderstraaten, Esqre., intimating the wish of Mr. Assist. Surgeon Bulkely to withdraw his Name, as a Member, from the Society, in consequence of his having been detached from Colombo, is communicated by the Secretary to the Meeting.

It is Resolved that all Returns that may be received on subjects of Natural History, be referred to the Sub-Committee of Natural History and Agriculture after they have been laid before a General Meeting of the Society.

Mr. Daviot's Letter soliciting the Office of Draftsman to the Society is read ; and it is resolved that the Institution cannot afford to have a Draftsman attached to it at present on a fixed Salary, but that Mr. Daviot may be employed whenever drawings may be required.

It is resolved that the Salary of the Clerk be fixed at Rds. 20 per Mensem, and that Mr. Cecil Morgan be appointed thereto.

Two vacancies having occurred in the Two Sub-Committees of Geology, Mineralogy, and Geography, and of Civil History, Languages and Antiquities, It is resolved that George Lusignan Esqre., and Captain Schneider be nominated to the two former, and J. G. Kriekenbeek, Esqre., and J. W. Bennett, Esqre., to the latter.

Adjourned to Thursday, the 15th of November, 1821.

At a General Meeting held on Thursday, the 15th November, 1821.

Present.—

The Hon. The Chief Justice
The Hon. The Puisne Justice
The Hon. J. W. Carrington, Esqre.
The Hon. and Venerable The Archdeacon
Dr. Farrell

} Vice-Presidents.

Lieut.-Col. Wright	John Deane, Esqr.
Lieut. Gascoyne	Lieut.-Col. Walker
Captain Schneider	Alexander Moon, Esqre.
J. G. Kriekenbeek, Esqr.	Mr. Reckerman
The Revd. A. Armour	Geo.Turnour, Esqre., Secretary

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard in the Chair.

The Proceedings of the last General Meeting are read.

The Society proceed to ballot for the admission of the Gentlemen proposed at the last Meeting.

The Revd. B. Fox and Revd. B. Clough are admitted in consequence, which the Secretary is instructed to intimate to those Gentlemen.

The Report of the Sub-Committee of Natural History and Agriculture on the Treatise on the State of Horticulture in Ceylon referred to it by order of the last Meeting of the Society is read,—of which the following is a copy.

Horticulture.

"The Committee of Agriculture and Natural History, at a Meeting held on the 3rd Nov., 1821, having taken into its consideration the anonymous Treatise on Horticulture transmitted with the Letter of the Seeretary to the Society, find that the general purport of the Paper in question is confined to a statement of the principal and most obvious causes which have hitherto retarded the progress of gardening in Ceylon, but the Committee regrets to add that it does not comprehend any proposition for the improvement of the System of practical Horticulture or the removal of the deterring causes to which its imperfections are attributed.

"Of these causes the most material and the most insuperable would seem to be that of the poverty and natural sterility of the Soil with regard to exotic fruits and vegetables, but which in the opinion of the Committee is in the Treatise before it very much overrated.

"Although the limited experience of the Members of the Committee does not allow them to urge this opinion too decisively, they feel that it is in no small degree borne out by the admission of the Treatise itself that "many fine fruits" (and which in the Paper are imperfectly detailed) "have been brought to the Island by General Macdowal and Messrs. Kerr and Moon most of which are already naturalized."

"The acknowledged fertility of the Gardens at Galle when formerly cultivated by the Chinese, the flourishing state of some in Colombo and its vicinity, the plentiful supply of exotic Vegetables from others scattered through the Kandyan Provinces, are so many grounds on which the Committee are inclined to ground its dissent from the opinion expressed in the Treatise of the barrenness of the Soil, and the Committee has been induced to dwell more earnestly on this point from reflecting on the tendency

that such an opinion would have, if generally received, to blight the hopes and objects of the Society by paralysing all endeavours towards future improvement.

"The Committee having considered so much in detail that part of the Treatise which appeared of the greatest importance must now close its report with a few general observations.

"With regard to the remarks contained in the Paper on the want of a supply of Seeds, the Committee beg to observe that this subject has not wholly escaped its attention, and it expects shortly to be enabled to lay before the Society some plan for obtaining a more efficient and regular supply.

"The remaining causes to which the Paper now before the Committee would adduce the feeble progress of Horticultural improvement are too obvious, and too well known to require a particular comment in this place, especially as they are not combined with any observations likely to produce beneficial practical results, and for which Reason the Committee is of opinion that its further publication is not calculated to be of any general utility, or to advance in any manner the views of the Society."

(Signed) T. B. Gascoyne
" A. Moon
" A. Armour.

Ordered that the Treatise be inserted in the Proceedings of the Society, recording at the same time the recommendation of the Sub-Committee as to its not receiving any further publicity.

"Horticulture,[13] that branch of gardening which has for its object the cultivation of esculent Vegetables, has not until very lately attracted much of the observation of scientific persons even in Europe, though in England particularly it has been long practically pursued and with abundant success.

"In Ceylon it is in even in practice at a very low ebb.

"When it is considered how very natural is the pleasure which we take in gardening, and it is recollected that the former possessors of this Island were in their own country the most assiduous Gardeners in Europe, it would appear that Ceylon with its boasted Climate and Soil has been in this particular unaccountably neglected.

"But on reflection the cause seems sufficiently obvious; the pleasure of gardening in this Country is much abridged to Europeans by the impossibility of their taking exercise in the open air for more than two or three hours in the twenty-four, immediately before and after the Sun Rise and Sun-Set,—this at once would put an end to all plans of ornamental gardening, even did not the expense and trouble of keeping any extent of ground in a state of neatness, in a Country where spontaneous vegetation is so rapid and vigorous, render the pleasure too costly for ordinary purses.

13. Sir J. Barrow, in *Ceylon, Past and Present* (1857), reproduces this paper. and attributes it to Sir Hardinge Giffard. He does not state his authority, but as he supplies an evident omission, it is probable that he was able to consult the original MSS. This may explain why the paper, though condemned by the Sub-committee, was ordered to be entered n the Proceedings.

"Neither could the Hollander find in Ceylon that kind of gardening which though within a narrow limit could in Europe afford so much delight and excite so much enthusiasm; his favourite Tulips or Anemones or Auriculas would not exist in those parts of Ceylon to which he had access, and the Island offered little as a substitute,—a few balsams and Tuberoses, the four o'clock flower,[14] and one or two bulbous-rooted plants of the liliaceous tribe are perhaps all that can be called indigenous, applicable to the flower garden; diligent attention might add from European or Cape seeds, Amaranthus, French and African Marigold, Asters, Pinks, and under very favourable circumstances a few plants of Mignonette; but here the Catalogue ends, a poor display of flowers when set against the numberless products of an European garden.

"With respect to soil and climate, we must from deference to truth admit that much exaggeration and misrepresentation have prevailed on those points. The Climate of Ceylon generally, and that of Colombo most particularly is certainly the most favourable to human life of any in India,—but it is still a tropical Climate and subject to much of tropical inconvenience with respect to Health.

"But as affecting cultivation the different parts of Ceylon present striking differences. The Seasons and Climate of Jaffna, Trincomale, Matura,[15] Kandy and Colombo are all dissimilar. Many plants will thrive and fruits ripen in one which cannot be raised in the others. Grapes and oranges are cultivated in abundance and perfection at Jaffna, while at Colombo a Vine is kept alive with difficulty, and has very seldom been known to bear fruit. Our knowledge of these different Climates is yet very vague and general.

"We know however that in Jaffna the rains and droughts succeed each other with periodical regularity, but that in Colombo, at least as far as recollection unassisted by scientific observation goes, there is scarcely any rule by which to judge of the probability of either.

"In the interior, the elevation of the Country creates a diminnution of temperature more favourable to the product of Europe, and accordingly in the neighbourhood of Kandy esculent Vegetables, Peas and Cabbages particularly, have been cultivated by some of our Countrymen, so as to remind us of the products of an English Garden.

"As to soil we can boast little; that of Colombo and its neighbourhood is either largely mixed with what is called Cabook, a sort of indurated brick-coloured loam, or deep white sand. The Cabook is highly favourable to indigenous Vegetables, which flourish in it exceedingly, but it appears to be almost barren with exotics,—a profusion of animal manure only can force a crop of Cabbages, lettuces, or radishes, and beyond these we can scarcely aspire.

14. *Mirabilis Jalapa* L., Sendrikka, S.; neither this nor the Tuberose is indigenous, but both were introduced before 1678.

15. Matara.

"The soil of Jaffna is however more productive; it is composed principally of minute Coral and silicious sand from which with the most patient and assiduous irrigation are raised very valuable Crops of Tobacco.

"At Trincomalie, the Soil is apparently very poor; indeed, an attempt at gardening seems scarcely to be thought of in that District.

"The Soil of Matura is more favourable, but the intense heat of the Climate is injurious; attempts have however been made and with some slight success to raise esculent European Vegetables in this District.

"At Galle, there are many gardens cultivated by Chinese which were at one time rather productive,—so much so as to furnish the Fleets which rendezvouzed there in time of War with a favourable supply. They are now rather declining from the attention of the Chinese being turned to other modes of gain, and the Cingalese cannot be brought to understand the value of foreign Vegetables. The Climate of Galle is nearly that of Colombo, but the soil from a slight intermixture of Coral rock is more productive.

"The Kandyan District seems to offer the fairest opportunity for gardening to advantage; this appears to be entirely owing to the elevation. The Soil is probably not more productive naturally than that of Colombo,—the presence of limestone in which it abounds does not afford that promise of fertility which usually it does in England, since it is ascertained that Magnesian limestone which is the species found in Kandy does not possess any valuable Property as a Manure.

"Having thus sketched the causes which appear to have hitherto retarded the advancement of gardening in Ceylon, and taken a general view of its present condition, we cannot but feel that in the prosecution of this pursuit there are serious difficulties to be encountered. These difficulties in Colombo consist of an unascertained rather than uncertain Climate, and with respect to exotic vegetables an unproductive Soil.

"To acquire some knowledge of the Climate would probably be the first step to be taken. This might be done by instituting a series of observations for the purpose at Colombo, and perhaps in no very long time, a sufficient body of information might be obtained to enable us to form some rules upon the subjeet. That nothing of this sort has hitherto been done may be accounted for by reflecting how very little our thoughts have reference to any permanent residence in Ceylon. We generally look upon the lapse of time merely as leading us to the period of our leaving the Island, and we have consequently little inducement to enter upon any pursuit which is connected with any length of stay. The Weather, therefore, passes by, Monsoon after Monsoons, without leaving any trace upon our Memory by which to direct us in our expectation of that which is to come.

"Accordingly, perhaps the only rule relating to the Choice of Seasons for Cultivation in Colombo and its neighbourhood is that which is almost forced upon us, 'that the best periods for

sowing are after the heavy Rains which usually fall in the last days of June and October at the change of the respective Monsoons.

"The Chief dangers to be apprehended to the esculent Vegetables of Europe when cultivated here is from the heavy Rains. These not only wash the young Plants and Seeds out of the Ground, but by the violent change of temperature produced in the Plants when more matured by the intense heat of the Sun breaking upon them after heavy Showers, they are destroyed with a rapidity scarcely perceptible. A Cabbage exposed to heavy rain, and afterwards to four or five hours of burning Sun will become so rotten as to fall down in mere Jelly.

"But the indigenous Plants of Ceylon seem not to be affected in this way; they endure these violent transitions of temperature without apparent injury; and were the number of esculent native vegetables greater than those we have, ameliorated so far by cultivation as to be capable of supplying the absence of those of Europe, We might perhaps as the easiest course direct our principal attention to them; but they afford little variety, and less in temptation to our taste. The place of greens from Cabbage or Spinach is ill supplied by the *Basella* (Country Greens), *Rumex vesicanies*[16] (Country Sorrel), or *Amaranthus* (Tampali); Windsor beans by *Phaseolus fabaeformis*[17], or *Convolvulus tuberosus*[18]; and here the comparative catalogue would terminate.

"In addition to those we have as belonging to the Kitchen Garden, the produce of some of the larger trees, the Breadfruit in particular which affords an excellent and abundant Supply, the Jack Fruit, little used by us but largely consumed by the Natives, the unripe Papaw boiled, and the pods of the Murunga, so delicious when dressed with Curry,—to these may be added the Bandikoi and Brinjal. The European Vegetables which have been found to succeed near Colombo are principally Asparagus; Watercress; Cabbage of the Early York, Drumhead, Sugar Loaf, and Red Dutch Varieties; Turnips, Dutch and Purple; Knole Cole; Radishes, long white and Scarlet London, White and red Turnip, and Black Spanish; Celery, Solid and red stalked; Endive, green Curled, white Curled, and Batavian; Lettuce, Cabbage; Parsley, Curled and large rooted; Mint, spear and pepper; Peas, early Charlton, dwarf Spanish, and dwarf Marrowfat; French beans, negro, black, and Canterbury or white; Carrots, horn and orange; Beet, red and white.[19]

"The Cultivation of Potatoes in the Maritime Provinces has been often attempted, and, excepting perhaps in one experiment made in the highlands of the Morua Korle[20] about Six Years since, generally in vain. In the Kandyan districts, particularly at Maturate and Fort McDonald they have been cultivated more

16. *Rumex vesicarius* L.

17. Barrow (loc. cit.) supplies the missing words, "potatoes by yames."

18. Sweet Potato, *Ipomoea Batatas*.

19. This list suggests that either Sir Hardinge Giffard was drawing largely on his imagination, or that the varieties then in cultivation in Europe were better adapted to withstand the climate than their successors of the present day.

20 By Mr. Lorens, Sitting Magistrate of Morrua Corle, see *Government Gazette*, Sept. 30th, 1812.

successfully, and there is no reason to suppose that they may not hereafter become a valuable source of supply from the higher districts of Kandy. Not many years have elapsed since they were first attempted in the High Lands of Hindostan, and they are now not only in very general use throughout that country, but a considerable Article of Export.

"The want of a supply of Garden Seeds is felt to be a great impediment to Horticulture, so far as relates to European esculent Vegetables. Formerly the regular Indiamen by which (we) were annually visited brought out English garden seeds as a part of their general investment, and from the Cape we have had sometimes an opportunity of obtaining Seeds still more suitable to the Climate of Ceylon. From some causes or other our intercourse with the Cape seems to be diminishing, and since the whole trade of Ceylon has fallen into the hands of those by whom it is found most advantageous to import Articles in demand among the Natives, we have been totally without supplies unless such as have casually arrived from the Cape.

"It would probably be worth the consideration of this Society whether some means might not be adopted under its immediate patronage of procuring Supplies of Garden Seeds; those produced at Hyderabad might perhaps be obtained through Madras with more punctuality than we could expect them either from England or the Cape. Fruits are, notwithstanding the little care bestowed upon their cultivation, very abundant with us, but whether from want of care or from a prejudice in favour of the pleasures of our earlier life, they are not considered equal in flavour to those of Europe. The Pine Apple is even supposed to be more delicious when raised in an English hot-house than when produced in its native soil; for this there may be a sufficient cause in the total neglect with which it is treated; it is wholly abandoned to nature without any aid from care or manure or any kind of cultivation.

"But in spite of neglect the oranges of Ceylon are abundant and excellent. Limes are produced in profusion. The Papaw, often equal to the best Melon in flavour and remarkable for the Nasturtium taste of its seeds, grows spontaneously. The Guava, the basis of a delicious Jelly, the Goreka, the Jambos, Catappa (Country Almond), the Karambe, the Attike (a species of Fig), the Veralu, Carmbola, Bilim, Neli, Marmel, Custard Apple, and a long list deserving of attention and probably capable of great improvement by cultivation are to be found in our bazars, collected with little pains from the Jungle. The Cocoa Nut we leave to the general husbandman.

"Of fruits known in Europe, the Grape and the Pomgranate only are cultivated with any success in Ceylon, and the former only in Jaffna. Apples, Pears, Plums, Cherries, Peaches, and the delightful Variety of small fruits which are found in an English Garden are unknown excepting by a few specimens of them lately imported; the two first have been planted of late at Kandy, but are not advanced enough to ascertain whether they will bear, and some Peach trees raised by the late General McDowal at Grand Pass have often blossomed but have never formed any fruit.

"Strawberries (The Alpine) have been cultivated successfully in the Kandyan districts, and in some degree at Colombo. A species of raspberry[21] has been found wild in the higher parts of Kandy. Melons have been raised. Water Melons and Cucumbers are abundant.

"To General McDowal and to Messrs. Kerr and Moon, the Superintendents of the Botanic Garden, we owe the introduction of many fruits new to this Island, amongst, others the Persian Almond, the Lovi Lovi, Wampu, Lee-chee, Rambutan, the Loquat, most of which are already naturalised and increase the display of our des(s)erts. The Lemon has of late been introduced and appears to thrive well in the soil of Ceylon.

"In this neglected state of the cultivation of fruit trees it is not surprising that we hear nothing of the various modes of ameliorating and propagating them, so well known in Europe; grafting by approach (the uniting of two plants growing near each other) has indeed been practised in the Botanical Garden and with some success, but all other kinds of grafting or inoculation are totally unknown. The propagation of trees by the Chinese method of abscission has also been successfully attempted, but not very generally.

"In this short sketch of the present state of Horticulture in Ceylon but more particularly the neighbourhood of Colombo, it is not pretended that any new or valuable information is offered. The object with which it has been traced is to excite attention to the subject, and by opening the discussion to give an opportunity to others who are qualified, of aiding the laudable wishes of this Society, the improvement of Horticulture in Ceylon."

The suggestions promised in the above report as to the best means of obtaining regular supplies of seeds, being laid before the Society by the Sub-Committee of Natural History and Agriculture, and read by the Secretary, of which proposal the following is a Copy.

Import of Seeds.

"The Committee of Natural History and Agriculture, having taken into its consideration the best means of extending and improving the practical Horticulture of the Island, is strongly impressed with the opinion that the first requisite towards that desirable object is, the establishment of some method, whereby the imported supply of vegetable seeds that are applicable to the Island may be rendered less defective and precarious than it is at present, to which end the Committee beg to recommend the following plan, by which it considers that the requisite proportion may be most readily and conveniently obtained.

"The Committee, in the first place, propose that under authority of the Society, commissions for seeds should be sent to England and the Cape of Good Hope, and the Committee has

21. Four species of Rubus occur upcountry. *Rubus lasiocarpus* is known as the Wild Raspberry, but its fruit is not edible.

drawn out for greater convenience the lists A, B, annexed to this report, which contain the description of seeds likely to be obtained from those countries, assorted in parcels, of which the list marked A are calculated for large, and the list, B, for smaller gardens.

"2ndly—That Gentlemen desirous of obtaining seeds should be invited to notify their wishes to the Secretary of the Society, specifying whether they require one or more of these parcels and from which place, also whether yearly or half yearly supplies will be most desirable ; and that on a certain day to be hereafter fixed, a list should be made out of the persons subscribing, and that the Commissions for the seeds should be then regulated by the quantity which the list may shew to have been subscribed for.

"A small list is also made out of seeds which are likely to be obtained from Bangalore, but the Committee having no experience of the success of the seeds which have already been brought to the Island from that station can only advance this plan of obtaining them as a suggestion to those who may desire to make the Trial.

"A small list of common garden tools which may be obtained from the seedsman in England is also added for the benefit of those who may desire them.

"The prime cost of the assortment A in England may be expected to be about 2£ and of the assortment B, half that sum. The cost of the large assortment of Tools may also be estimated at 3£, and the smaller at 1£, to which is to be added all incidental expenses of freight, etc., the Committee having no accurate criterion to guide its calculation. The prices of seeds at other places cannot at present be ascertained but will probably average the same.

"It being necessary to transmit an order for the payment with the Commissions, gentlemen sending in their names will at the same time be required to remit to the Secretary of the Society the sum of Twenty Rix Dollars in advance for the large collection of seeds, and Ten Rix Dollars for the smaller, the remainder of the expenses of the articles to be paid on delivery.

"That on the payment of the first deposit by the gentlemen who desire to have seeds or tools, a ticket should be made out and transmitted to them authorizing the receipt of the parcels for which such deposit has been made on payment of the remainder of the charges annexed to it, and the articles will be issued unopened on arrival on the presentation of the ticket to the Agent appointed by the Society to receive and distribute the articles, the ticket being of course transferable at pleasure.

"The Committee recommends the seeds to be packed in strong brown paper, and each collection to be put in a tin case or rolled in wax cloth, either of which should be sealed and numbered ; and gentlemen in subscribing will specify which of the above methods of packing they prefer. The whole will then be closed in large boxes, a list of the contents being attached to each parcel.

"The Committee considering that the arrival of the seeds in good condition chiefly depends on the situation they are placed in during the voyage, also recommends that cabin room should be taken for the general assortment, and that the seedsman to

whom the commissions may be forwarded should be particularly directed not to alter the items and quantity ordered, and also to have the packages properly marked, and secured from damage on board ship."

A.

English Seeds for the Ceylon Literary Society.

½ lb. Red Beet	½ lb. Red Turnip Radish
2 oz. Mangel Wurzel	½ lb. White turnip Radish
1 oz. Imperial Cabbage	½ lb. Black Spanish Radish
1 oz. Early York do.	1 qt. Finest Early Peas
1 oz. Large Scotch or	1 qt. Dwarf Marrow do.
Drumhead do.	1 qt. Dwarf Spanish do.
1 oz. Red Dutch do.	1 oz. Green Curled Endive
1 oz. Sugar Loaf do.	1 oz. Dutch Cabbage Lettuce
2 oz. Nol-kol or Kol Rabi	¼ oz. Melons of sorts
½ lb. Early horn Carrot	1 oz. Curled Parsley
1 lb. Long Orange Carrot	1 oz. Fennel
2 oz. London Leek	1 oz. Large rooted Parsley
½ lb. Early Dutch Turnip	1 qt. Negro Kidney Bean
½ lb. Early Stone Turnip	½ oz. Brown Cos Lettuce
2 oz. Solid Celery	1 qt. Canterbury Bean
2 oz. Red do.	½ oz. Mignonette
½ lb. Early Short top Radish	½ oz. Pinks of sorts
½ lb. Early Solmon do.	Annual flowers of sorts

B.

English Seeds for the Ceylon Literary Society.

¼ lb. Red Beet	¼ lb. Black Spanish Radish
1 oz. Early York Cabbage	1 qt. Finest Early Peas
1 oz. Large Scotch or Drum-head Cabbage	1 qt. Dwarf Marrow do
2 oz. Nol-kol or Kol Rabi	1 qt. Dwarf Spanish do
¼ lb. Early Horn Carrot	1 oz. Green curled Endive
¼ lb. Long Orange do.	½ oz. Dutch Cabbage Lettuce
2 oz. London Leek	¼ oz. Melons of sorts
½ lb. Early Dutch Turnip	¼ oz. Cucumbers of sorts
1 oz. Celery	1 oz. Curled Parsley
½ lb. Radishes	1 pt. Negro Kidney Bean
½ lb. Turnips	1 pt. Canterbury Bean

A.

Cape Seeds for the Ceylon Literary Society.

½ lb. Beet
½ oz. Boerkool
¼ oz. Cauliflowers best sorts
1 oz. Sugar Loaf Cabbage
1 oz. Drumhead Cabbage
2 oz. Nol Kol
½ lb. Carrot
½ lb. Parsnip
½ lb. Turnips of sorts
¼ lb. Celery
½ lb. Endive
4 oz. Lettuce of sorts
2 oz. Nasturtium
1 lb. White Radish
1 lb. Black Radish
1 lb. Turnip and Radish
½ oz. Strawberry
1 qt. Marrowfat Peas
1 qt. Blue Prussian
1 qt. Early Peas
½ qt. Long pod Bean
½ qt. Scarlet Runners
1 qt. Broad Spotted
1 qt. Yellow Bean
1 qt. Round Scarlet Bean
1 qt. Kidney Bean
1 qt. French Kidney Bean
1 qt. Speckled Bean
1 qt. Black Bean

B.

Cape Seeds for the Ceylon Literary Society.

½ lb. Beet
1 oz. Sugar Loaf Cabbage
1 oz. Drumhead Cabbage
2 oz. Nol Kol
½ lb. Carrot
½ lb. Turnip of sorts
¼ lb. Celery
½ lb. Endive
4 oz. Lettuce of sorts
½ lb. Black Radish
½ lb. Turnips and Radish
1 qt. Marrowfat Peas
1 qt. Early Peas
1 pt. Broad Spotted
1 pt. Yellow Bean
1 pt. Round Scarlet Bean
1 pt. Kidney Bean
1 pt. French Kidney Bean
1 pt. Speckled Bean
1 pt. Black Bean

A.

Garden tools for the Literary Society.

2 Garden Scythes with Sneads, etc., complete
6 Scythe Stones
1 Pair Hedge Shears
1 Turfing Spade
1 Pruning Knife
1 Budding knife
2 Dutch Hoes & Handles
2 Drill Hoes & Handles
2 Spades

B.

Garden Tools for the Literary Society.

1 Pruning Knife	2 Drill Hoes and Handles
2 Dutch Hoes and Handles	2 Spades

Bangalore Seeds for the Ceylon Literary Society.

1 oz. Cabbage	4 oz. Turnips
1 oz. Lettuce	2 qts. Peas
1 oz. Endive	2 qts. Kidney Beans
4 lb. Carrots[22]	2 qts. Country Beans of sorts
1 oz. Parsley	A small quantity of the best sorts of Country Vegetables,
4 oz. Celery	Herbs, and Fruits.

Resolved thereupon that the Plan be approved, and that the Secretary be directed to communicate with Messrs. Arbuthnot & Co., as to the best and readiest means of procuring regular supplies of seeds from Bangalore and Hyderabad.

On the motion of John Deane, Esquire, It is ordered that the part of the report which relates to the mode of procuring seeds from England be printed in the *Ceylon Gazette*, with a notification that any person wishing to avail himself of the plan be requested to signify the same to the Secretary with the least possible delay in order that the Commission might be sent home by the *Princess Charlotte*.

Freshwater Mussel—Mantis.

A letter is read from Count Ranzow[23] transmitting two papers, one on the Sweet Water Muscle found in the Lake near Kandy, and the other on a species of the Mantis Tribe, which likewise having been read to the Meeting,

Ordered that they be referred to the Sub-Committee of Natural History and Agriculture, and that the Secretary do convey the thanks of the Society to Count Ranzow for his communications.

Snake.

It is ordered that the Secretary do communicate the thanks of the Society to William Gisborne, Esqre., for a large Snake of the Boa kind sent by him from the Caltura District.

22. The advertisement has 1 oz.
23. Daniel Ditloff, Count van Ranzow—see *Ceylon Literary Register*. II. (1887), p. 37.

Returns on Natural History.

The Archdeacon lays before the Meeting Papers on various subjects of Natural History drawn up by Gregory de Soyza, Mohandiram, according to the Form circulated by the Society.

Ordered that the thanks of the Meeting be communicated to the Mohandiram, and that the Papers be referred to the Sub-Committees to which they respectively relate.

On the Motion of Dr. Twiselton, it is resolved that Gregory de Soyza, Mohandiram, be elected an Honorary Member of this Society.

Bat.

A letter from the Reverend Mr. De Saram is read descriptive of a Red Bat sent by him.

Resolved that Mr. De Saram be thanked for his communication.

Returns on Natural History.

Sundry Reports in Cingalese, on subjects of Natural History furnished by the Modliar of Meddepattoa, are laid on the Table.

Ordered that Don Solomon Dias Bandaranaike be thanked for his communication, and that they be handed over to the Revd. A. Armour for translation.

Ordered that the Secretary be authorized to purchase Stationery for the Society, and the Clerk directed to attend the Sub-Committees at their pleasure.

Adjourned to Saturday, the 15th Decr., 1821 at 11 a.m.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary Society held on the 15th of December, 1821.

Present.—

The Hon'ble The Chief Justice
The Hon'ble The Puisne Justice
The Hon'ble and Ven'ble the Archdeacon
Doctor Farrell
} Vice-Presidents.

H. A. Marshall, Esqr. — The Revd. B. Clough
Lt.-Col. Wright — Mr. Reckerman
The Revd. A. Armour — Geo. Turnour, Esqr., Secretary

The Chief Justice in the Chair.

The Secretary reads the Proceedings of the last General Meeting.

Cochineal.

Dr. Farrell lays before the Society a Manuscript in the Tamil and English Languages prepared by the late Dr. Reyne, on the culture of the Cochineal, with observations from himself on the Natural History of the Insect.

Ordered that it be referred to the Sub-Committee of Natural History and Agriculture.

Horticulture.

A letter sent by Lieut.-Col. Campbell is read, containing observations on practical Horticulture.

Ordered that it be communicated to the Sub-Committee of Agriculture for its assistance in forming any Report it may hereafter make on that subject.

On the Motion of Lieut.-Col. Wright, seconded by Hon. Sir R. Ottley, Mons. Rosk,[24] Professor of Languages to His Majesty the King of Denmark, is elected an Honorary Member.

Sundry Papers on subjects of Natural History from Major Martin are laid before the Meeting; ordered that they be referred to the Sub-Committee of Natural History.

Adjourned to Tuesday, the 15th January, 1822, at 11 a.m.

(To be continued).

24. His name appears to have been Rask.

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EARLY CHRISTIANITY IN CEYLON.

By Rev. S. G. Perera, s.j.

WHEN the Portuguese "discovered" Ceylon at the beginning of the sixteenth century, great interest was aroused in Europe regarding that newly discovered island. Marvellous stories of its wealth and resources, its cinnamon and pearls, its plants and animals were brought home to Portugal; and strange tales they told of the customs and worship, of the origin and history of the islanders. It was discussed by the learned whether Ceilâo, as the Portuguese came to call it, was the island which the Greeks and Romans called Taprobane. This is a question still considered open by a well read scholar[1] in Ceylon, who doubts whether it will ever be closed; but European geographers of the time had little hesitation in answering it in the affirmative, and Strabo, Pliny, and Ptolemy were read and marked for what they told of Taprobane.

In the meantime Portuguese missionaries landed in the East, and Christian Europe watched the progress of the gospel with keen interest. The success of St. Francis Xavier and the early missionaries kindled enthusiasm to an extent unknown in our days. The spirit of the Crusades was still abroad, and priests sailed out in large numbers, regardless of discomforts, in poor

1. Mr.. Donald Ferguson. See *Journal, R.A.S. (Ceylon)*, No. 60, p. 80 and also Tennent, *Ceylon* I, 10 & 549. Lassen & Burnouf, the authors of the *Essai sur le Pali*, also wrote dissertations on the subject.

vessels, on hazardous voyages to the East Indies to convert the heathen. Their friends were busy copying, publishing, and translating the long letters and "relations" they received from the missionaries in India and Ceylon; while Portuguese historians, official and otherwise, described in glowing terms the exploits of their countrymen. Thus what was called the East Indies loomed large in literature.

Ceylon was no insignificant portion of the East Indies, and the stories told of this island exercised the ingenuity of various writers. There were some among them who thought they saw clear traces of an early Christianity in Ceylon. They called them legends. These legends—if such they deserve to be called—have a most dubious flavour, but almost take our breath away by their boldness, for they would take us back into nothing short of apostolic times, and tell, without a blush, how the gospel was preached in Ceylon by persons mentioned in the New Testament.

The Black Magus.

The first of these, and the least deserving of our respect, relates that among the Magi or Wise Men of the East, who went to Bethlehem to adore the new-born King of the Jews, was one who hailed from Ceylon. He was, it seems, called the Black Magus, by name Gaspar Peria Perumal, and was king of Jaffna. The story is thus told by a recent writer[2]: "There is (also) a tradition that one of the Magi, who came to adore the Lord, was a native of Ceylon. He was king of Jaffna, and bore at home the name of Peria Perumal. This must be the Black Magus, for Perumal is a Tamil name, pretty common even to this day in South India and Ceylon. This *Roi-Mage*, they say, joined St. Thomas in India, and there won the crown of martyrdom, together with the apostle at Maylapore. They were buried in the same grave." This writer evidently takes the story from Maffée, who in turn had it from Joâo de Barros, and Barros professed to have received it from the lips of a Syrian Christian. Barros was thus the first to give it a local habitation and a name. He says (Dec. iii, Bk. vii, Ch. ix) that one of the Syrian Christians[3] of Malabar, who came to Portugal, "related to

2. Courtenay, *Histoire du Christianisme à Ceylan*, p. 60.

3. "Documents in the Vatican Library show that in 1490 the Christians of India sent three men, Joseph and two others, to the Patriarch of the East to beg for bishops.... Joseph sailed for Lisbon in 1502 with the Portuguese Admiral Cabral. From Lisbon he made his way to Rome, where he had audience of Alexander VI. This Syrian Christian aroused much interest in Rome, and from his talk was published in 1506 an anonymous pamphlet called *Navigatio Novi Orbis*, or *The Travels of Joseph the Indian*, giving his description of the Thomas Christians." *Dublin Review* 1906, pp. 110-11. See Assemani. Cod. Lit. xiii, p. 229; *Paesi Novamente Retrovati*, cxlii. (*J.R.A.S.C.B.* 59, p. 326); Hough, *Christy. in India*, i, p. 153.

us that in the house of Coulam, which was built by another disciple of the apostle St. Thomas, stood a sepulchre of the Sybil which they call Indica, and that church was an oratory of hers. And that through her warning, announcing the birth of Christ Jesus, a king of the island of Ceilam, called Pirimal, went in a ship to the coast of Mascate to join two other kings, who were going to adore the Lord at Bethlehem, and that he was the third." How this story was received is hard to judge. It does not seem to have gained credit, for many writers ignore it altogether. One, however, Maffée, in his *Historia Indica* refers to it very cautiously. Speaking of the Magi, he says in a parenthetical phrase, that " Pirimal, king of Ceylon, is reckoned to be of that number."[4] In the hands of later writers the story received its full development.

It is needless to say that the story runs counter to all we know, little enough though it is, about the Magi from the early Fathers. At any rate the Syrian's story, if his it was, is improbable to a degree, to put it at the lowest. The Magi, in the first place, were not kings, though they are popularly called the " Three Kings"[5] ; and a king of Jaffna, I fancy, would have a long way and a hard time to perform the astounding feat of a journey to Bethlehem in the brave days of old. It is not, however, the antecedent improbability of the tale, which alone would be fatal to the Black Magus, that makes us rule the story out of court. Unfortunately for his legend, Barros himself gives another version of the self same story in an earlier decade ; nor is that earlier version the only one of its kind. " Barros does not seem to have realised ", writes Mr. Ferguson, "that this story was a strangely garbled version of the one he had related in I. ix, iii, of the king of Malabar, Saramá Pereimal, who was converted to Muslim, abandoned his kingdom, and went as a pilgrim to Mecca." This earlier version of the story and others of the same ilk are refuted at learned length by the Jesuit historian of Ceylon[6]. This Saramá Pereimal, Ceram Peroumal, Shoe Ram, or Shermanoo Permaloo, Rajah of Malabar, was a personage

4. " *Sunt qui cum tribus Magis, qui ad Christi Liberatoris incunabula, cum muneribus adoranda, Sybillae Indicae (ut ferunt) monitu, stella duce tetenderant (quo in numero Pirimal Ceilani Rex ponitur) Thomam in Oriente congressum. . . .dicant.*' *Maffée, His. Ind.* L.ii,p.55.

5. This popular view is due to misapplication of Psalm LXXI, 10, to the Magi : ' The kings of Tharsis and the islands shall offer presents : the kings of the Arabians and of Saba shall bring gifts." Hence later pictorial art loved to represent the Magi with sceptres in their hands and crowns on their heads. The Magi are generally reckoned at three, but it is only a conjecture.

6. *Conquista de Ceilao*, pp. 132-4.

of some importance. The Mohammedans claim him as a convert, and he is said to have been a protector of the Christians, and to have given them charters of liberty, engraven on copper plates.[7] Some copper plates were indeed handed to a Portuguese Governor by a dying Malabar bishop, in 1549. The plates were lost, but were afterwards found by Colonel Macaulay, British Resident in Travancore. Photographs of these plates are published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* (vii, 1843, pp. 343-4) and are generally supposed to belong to the eighth century[8]. This legend that turned Perumal into a Magus owes its origin to the garbled version of a conflicting story, and is entitled to undisturbed oblivion.

Footprint on Adam's Peak.

The second legend is no whit better than the first, though it has this redeeming feature that it is based on words attributed to an early Christian writer, misapplied to Ceylon; it is built on a Buddhist legend *tirée par les cheveux*. According to this story the footprint on Adam's Peak was the work of the Eunuch of the Queen of Candace baptised by the Deacon Philip (Acts viii. 25-40). It was Maffée who first gave it utterance, but he gave it only as conjecture, to which he was misled probably in this way[9]. It was reported from Ceylon that on Adam's Peak were venerated the footprints of a "great Saint" who had come to the island from abroad "to preach the true God." The well-known Buddhist belief (*Mahávansa* I, 77) expressed in this language, was naturally enough misunderstood in a Christian sense; and Maffée remembered that some writers, among them Dorotheus of Tyre, say that this eunuch preached the gospel in Arabia Felix, Erythra and Taprobane. Now Taprobane was believed to be Ceylon; so putting two and two together, Maffée wrote in connection with the footprint of Adam's Peak: "It does not seem unlikely that in this footprint, of which I have spoken, is venerated, as some say, the Ethiopian Eunuch of the Queen of Candace, though the name of this old time stranger had long since been forgotten. Some writers, especially Dorotheus, Bishop of Tyre, who flourished in the reign of Constantine the Great and was reputed for learning and holiness, say that he preached the gospel of Christ in Arabia Felix, through-

7. Hough, *Christy. in India*, i. pp. 1024; Fortescue, *Lesser Eastern churches*, pp. 362-3; Queiroz, *o.c.* p. 132; Fra Paolino, *Viaggio alle Indie Orientali*, pp. 103-6.

8. Fortescue, *l.c.*

9. Mine is just as much a conjecture as Maffée's.

out Erythra and in Taprobane."[10] Thus the story was only proposed as a probability on the strength of a statement, believed to be of Dorotheus, who is said to have been a bishop of the fourth century ; but *fama crescit eundo*, and Diego de Couto " having read what Dorotheus Bishop of Tyre says, and it is related by Maffée in the third book of his history of India," makes that "learned man" say "that in this footprint is venerated the memory of the eunuch of the Queen of Candace, who, he says, went about preaching the gospel throughout the whole of the Red Sea, Arabia Felix, and Taprobane."[11] Queiroz likewise ascribes the story to Dorotheus and blames him for the "fable" (*Conquista*, p.30). But the mistake was not his ; Dorotheus did not say that the eunuch's footprint is venerated on Adam's Peak, that was the conjecture of Maffée, and a bad one at that ; what Dorotheus is alleged to have said is that the eunuch preached the gospel in Taprobane. This statement, ascribed to Dorotheus, cannot be traced [12] nor will it be of any use, if it can be found, for the writings circulated under his name are not genuine, but Byzantine fabrications of the eighth century.[13] The Byzantine cleric seems to have " lifted " it boldly from another writer, Sophronius (A.D. 560-638), who wrote : "The eunuch of the Queen of Candace preached the gospel of the Lord in Arabia Felix and in Taprobane, an island in the Red Sea. They also say that he suffered martyrdom there and received honourable burial."[14]

The eunuch's connection with Adam's Peak is a bad guess, of which the less said the better; but did he come to Taprobane ? Sophronius first said that he did, and is therefore the fountain head of the legend. All other writers past and present[15] depend on him directly or indirectly for the story, which rests on the authority of a solitary writer of the seventh century. All earlier writers who speak of this eunuch,[16] say that he preached in Ethiopia, whatever that Ethiopia may mean. Cave, in his *Life of Philip*

10. '*Haud absimile vero videtur quod aiunt quidam, in eo, quod dixi, vestigio, quanquam extincta iam nominis antiqui & peregrini memoria, coli Eunuchum Candaces Aethiopum Reginae, quem alii scriptores, tum vero Dorotheus Tyri Episcopus, (qui, Constantino Magno imperante, & sanctitatis & doctrinae laude praecelluit) in Arabia Felice, totaque Erythra, & in Taprobana Christi Evangelium promulgasse testatur.*' Maffée. *H. I.*L. iii, p. 78.

11. *Journal, cit. p.* 116.

12. Some of his writings are given by Migne, *Patrol. Graeca*, Vol. 92.

13. *Catholic Encyclopedia* sub voce 'Tyre.'

14. "*Eunuchus Candaces Aethiopum Reginae in Arabia cognomento felici, et in Taprobana insula maris Rubri praedicavit Evangelium Domini. Aiunt autem eum et ibidem martyrium pertulisse, et honorifice fuisse sepultum.*" *Patrol. Graec.* XXIII, 721.

15. Maffée, Couto, Baldeus, du Jarric, Cave, Hough, Courtenay &c.

16. e.g. St. Ireneus, St. Jerome.

the Deacon,[17] says that the legend of Sophronius is confirmed by the "current traditions of the country." It is not clear what country is thus meant, and the statement is too vague to have any value.

It may well be doubted, moreover, whether this Taprobane is Ceylon. Ceylon was indeed called Taprobane, but who would dare to maintain that Taprobane always means Ceylon? That name has been used far too vaguely for us to be at all sure about it. Often it was Ceylon that was so meant; sometimes the descriptions given apply better to Sumatra; at other times no known island corresponds to the description. When the bare name is given, it may stand for anything at all for aught we know. The "Taprobane, island of the Red Sea," may well be such; such certainly is Taprobane of that arrant knight, Sir John Mandeville. He was a plagiarist and wrote *Voiage and Travaile*—"the most unblushing volumes of lies ever offered to the world" (Tennent, ii, 6). In this work Mandeville says: "Toward the Est partye of Prestre Johnes Lond[18], is an yle gode and gret, that men clepen Taprobane, that is full noble and full fructuous: and the Kyng thereof is fulle ryche, and is undre the obeyssance of Prestre John. And alle the weys there thei make hire Kyng be Eleccyuoun. In that Ile ben 2 Someres and 2 Wyntres; and men harvesten the corn twyes a Zeer. And in alle the Cesouns of the Zeer ben the Gardynes florisht. There dwellen gode folk and resonable, and manye Cristene men amonges hem, that ben so riche, that thei wyte not what to done with their Godes. Of olde tyme, whan man passed from the Lond of Prestre John unto that yle, men maden ordynance for to pass by Schippe, 23 dayes or more; but now men passen by Schippe in 7 dayes. And men may see the botme of the See in many places; for it is not fulle depe."[19] This Taprobane may be anything or nothing, probably the latter, as fabulous as Prestre John. At all events it need not surprise us that Taprobane was used so vaguely for islands real and imaginary. Even Lanka was not used exclusively for Ceylon. The island, Lanka, through which the first meridian of the Indian astronomers passed, was not Ceylon, as Tennent hastily concluded (i,6), but an island as imaginary as the meridian. For purposes of calculation the Indian astronomers imagined an island to lie

17. Quoted by Hough, I, p. 42.

18. Prestre John is the name of a legendary eastern priest and king. It was believed that a vast Christian Kingdom existed in the heart of Asia, and the legend furnished a wealth of material for poets, writers, and explorers. See Fortescue, *op. cit.* pp. 105-6, 300.

19. Quoted by Cordiner, *Descrip. of Ceylon*, i pp. 3-4. Mandeville speaks of Ceylon in ch. 18. "Silha" It is mostly taken from Friar Oderic.

on the equator at the same longitude as Ujjain, and named it Lanka."[20]

The Apostle St. Thomas.

But to come back to Couto. He was not satisfied, any more than we, with the story of the eunuch, for he writes: "We cannot discover whence that learned man (i.e. Dorotheus) could have inferred this, since it is not said in any writing that this eunuch left Abyssinia, of which he was an native. And we made diligent inquiry throughout India, and spoke with many ancient and learned Moors, heathen, and even Jews, and in no part of it is there any knowledge or tradition of this eunuch."[21] So far Couto is right enough, but to our consternation he proceeds to opine that the footprints—since there they were, and Couto could not let it alone but must needs find a Christian Saint to explain the phenomenon—must have been imprinted by the apostle St. Thomas. His reason is simple and is just this, "that at that time there went out to India no one, who could do such miracles, but this holy apostle."

Thus was born another legend, which João Ribeiro gives in this wise: "The one whom the Chingalas reverence above all and whom they call Bodu....was, they say, a great *Deo* who spent a very holy life on the island, and they count their years, which they call *Auruda*, beginning from the new moon in March, from the date of his stay. By calculation we find that this occurred forty years from the coming of the Redeemer, and according to many conjectures they refer to the apostle St. Thomas, who, all assert, lived in this island and passed thence to the coast of Choromandel, where is still preserved a good deal of the Christianity which he established; and this is confirmed by their statement that Bodu was not a native and that he did not die in the island, but departed to the opposite coast" (Ribeiro's *Ceilão*, p. 138). It must be owned to Ribeiro's credit that he did not give the matter as certain, for he adds: "God knows what the truth of this story may be; I can only state what their tradition is." But Couto and Ribeiro were neither the first nor the only ones to suggest a possible visit of St. Thomas to Ceylon. That is a classic conjecture,[22] no whit more true for being often repeated. But Ribeiro certainly overstates the matter when he says that all assert that St. Thomas lived in the island. His connection with Adam's Peak rests on very tall conjectures like Couto's "reason"

20. *Indian Chronology, Tithis, Nakshatras, etc.* by Dewan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai. p. 60; Fra Paolino, *Viaggio*, p. 372.

21. *Journal* 160, p. 116.

22. See Medlycott, *India and the Apostle St. Thomas*, pp. 92, 97; Yule, *Cathay and the way thither*, ii, p. 374; Courtenay, *op. cit.* p. 60; Mgr. Zaleski, *Les Martyrs de l'Inde*, p. 3.

and Ribeiro's " calculation". It is hardly necessary to say that St. Thomas' visit to Ceylon is of the same kind as the visit of the eunuch ; and we must be content to forego the honour of these legendary visits.

Christians in Ceylon in 6th Century.

These writers do not mention any inhabitant of Ceylon converted by these Christian visitors, which is a poor compliment to such apostolic men. If they had at least said that there were Christians in Ceylon once upon a time, they would have said something which, unlike their legends, was quite true ; for Cosmas Indicopleustes has left on record the existence of a Christian church in Ceylon in the sixth century, and there is every reason to think that he states a fact. But the *Christian Topography*, the quaint book of that much travelled monk, was then unknown. The manuscript existed in the Vatican Library, but it was long afterwards that historians became aware of its existence. In this work, now published in the original Greek by a Benedictine, and translated into several languages,[23] Cosmas says : "Even in Taprobane, an island in further India, where the Indian sea is, there is a church of Christians with clergy and a body of believers." (Bk. iii.) This Taprobane is undoubtedly Ceylon, for Cosmas says, "it is called Seilediba by the Indians, but by the Greeks Taprobane." Referring to this Christian church, he says again in the eleventh book, in which he describes Ceylon : "The island has also a church of Persian Christians, who have settled there, and a Presbyter who is appointed from Persia, and a Deacon and a complete ecclesiastical ritual. But the natives and their kings are heathen."

Cosmas is the only writer who speaks of this Christian community, and his statement has been unreservedly accepted by all historians. A little before Cosmas, however, we find a passing allusion to these Christians, for a Persian biographer, Zâdoê, contemporary of Mar Yonân, is described as " *prêtre et solitaire, chef du monastère de Saint-Thomas dans le pays de l'Inde, dont le siège est fixé sous le pays des Qatraye, a Ceylan, l'ile noire.*"[24] But all that we know of these Christians we know from Cosmas. According to him both the pastors and the flock are Persians resident in

23. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, Vol. 88. English translation by J. W. Mc Crindle, *The Christian Topography*. Hakluyt Society.

24. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'Empire Perse*, p. 306. The French text which is a translation, (probably literal) is obscure. Perhaps this Zâdoê was once the "Presbyter" stationed in Ceylon, and the Persian settlers were Qatrayi (from the Persian Gulf).

Ceylon. They were probably Nestorians, for the Persian church became Nestorian towards the end of the fifth century. We know from extant inscriptions that the Persian Christians carried their religion with them wherever they went. In fact they were the first to carry the name of Christ to India and China. It is well known also that the Persians had commerical intercourse with Ceylon in the sixth century. One would, however, search the Sinhalese chronicles in vain for even a passing allusion to these foreigners, for our chronicles are generally very reticent on such subjects. There is, however, a passage in the *Mahávansa*[25] which states that Pandukábhaya "laid out near the West gate of Anurádhapura" among other things "a ground set apart for the Yonas," *Yonasabhágavatthu*. This passage is an anachronism (*Ceylon Antiquary, Notes and Queries*, i, p. viii) and may well be a reference to the Christian strangers.. A priest with a Deacon implies a number of worshippers; and Persian traders resident in Ceylon would in all probability live together in a centre of trade; and such Anuradhapura was at the time. It would therefore be most natural to find a foreign quarter in the town.

What became of this Christian church, whether it inculuded any natives of Ceylon, and how long it lasted, we have no means of knowing. We know that the Nestorian missions in the East were destroyed after the thirteenth century. Friar Oderic and Marignolli, who visited Ceylon in the fourteenth century, do not speak of any Christians in Ceylon. Probably there were none to speak of. Cordiner in his *Description of Ceylon* (i, p. 154) ventured to say: "The Christian religion was first planted in Ceylon by Nestorian missionaries from Persia. But of the churches established by them scarcely any vestiges now remain, or, if they do, they make a part of those buildings afterwards erected by the Portuguese." Cordiner here enlarges upon the data of Cosmas, who spoke only of *a* Christian church, of *Persians*, with *a* priest and *a* deacon, leaving no room for the assertion that the "faith was planted in Ceylon by Nestorian Missionaries." Such speculations are a dangerous pastime, for subsequent writers turn them into actual realities. In this instance Hough laid hold of Cordiner's conjecture, and wrote: "Of the Christian churches, which they (the Nestorians

25. *Mahávansa*, 88-90. Geiger's edition (Pali Text Society, 1908) pp. 85-6. *Cf* also p. liv. English trans p. 74. See an interesting note on this passage by Ayrton in the '*Notes and Queries*', i, viii-x.

from Persia) erected in the island, scarcely any vestige remained at the time of the Dutch conquest. When the Portuguese had subdued the maritime provinces, they almost obliterated the monuments of the natives' religion; and no doubt the Nestorian church shared the fate of the temples of Buddhu, which they pulled down, and with the materials erected churches of their own religion on all parts of the coast."[26] These are wild statements. All that we can safely state is that there were no Christians, no Christian legends, in Ceylon, when Lourenco de Almeida landed at Galle in 1505.[27]

26. Hough, *Christianity in India*. This work is a bitter polemic rather than a history.

27. This is the common conclusion of two such dissimilar writers as Tennent and Courtenay, each of whom produced a work on "Christianity in Ceylon." Tennent, who was a Protestant and a former Colonial Secretary of Ceylon, is a biassed historian. Courtenay, a Catholic, has gathered a wealth of information from various sources, without much discrimination, and does not indicate his sources.

SINHALESE AND THE ARYAN LANGUAGES.

A Rejoinder to Mr. M. H. Kantawala, C.C.S.

By GATE MUDALIYAR W. F. GUNAWARDHANA.

IN a lecture which I had the honour of delivering before the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, some time ago, I made the following observation about the Sinhalese as appearing from their language :—

"In the basic principles of their grammar, the Sinhalese are Dravidian; in grammatical flexion and vocabulary, which form the superstructure of the language, they are Aryan."

Here the direct object of thought is not the language itself, but the Sinhalese as affected by the racial aspect of the language. Mr. M. H. Kantawala of the Ceylon Civil Service, calling special attention to the philological proposition involved, has, in Vol. VII. Part II, of the *Ceylon Antiquary*, brought it out as follows :—

"Bereft of the Aryan superstructure, the Sinhalese language is purely and entirely Dravidian."

Thereby he puts the idea involved in the proposition in the clearest light. And against the idea he is up in arms. He contends that the Sinhalese language belongs not to the Dravidian, but purely to the Aryan stock, with slight touches of Dravidian tinge ; and, in support of his contention, he has written a series of articles to this Magazine, and also contributed one letter to the press. The literature he has presented us on the subject is rather copious and various, and forms an interesting study in linguistic philosophy. But he is so profuse that it is often difficult to follow the trend of his learned discourse and its bearing on the main issue; and it is with a certain amount of labour that I have been able to extricate some of the main grounds of his contention, which it seems worth exhibiting in a connected view before submitting them to examination. The main grounds in their substance seem to be as follows :—

1. The modern Sinhalese alphabet, derived from Pali as it is, is purely Aryan.

2. Even the script shows well marked consanguinity to the Déva Nágarí.

3. The paucity of consonants reflects itself in the harsh queerness of Dravidian pronunciation and contrasts favourably with the melodious Aryan accent of Sinhalese.

4. Gujerati in its stage of evolution is nearest to Prakrit; and so almost is Sinhalese, having preserved in their nascent forms those Prakrit features which are still the backbone of the Bombay tongue.

5. Sinhalese grammar is out and out Aryan; in fact the fundamental principles of any of the branches of the latter can, *mutatis mutandis*, be applied with impunity to the former.

6. The very syntax in Sinhalese is strikingly Indian.

7. The formation of compounds is ditto.

8. The casal declension of nouns is ditto.

9. The casal declension of pronouns is ditto.

10. The pronominal concord is ditto.

11. The verbal inflexions are ditto.

12. The formation of causative from a simple verb by the addition of a medial ෙ is ditto.

13. The use of a perfect participle to denote continuity of action is ditto.

14. The case relationship between the prepositions and the nouns they govern is ditto.

15. Sinhalese possesses many idioms—true index of family kinship—in common with Indian languages. (Twenty examples under eight leading principles are given.)

The above are from the Number of the *Ceylon Antiquary* already referred to. The continuation of the argument in the next Number (Vol. VII, Part III) is a highly instructive dissertation on the mutual relationship of Sanskrit and the Prakrits and the growth and distribution of the latter. Many of the passages are of real value and will be quoted later. While this continuation was yet to be published, I had addressed a communication to the press, in general refutation of all the grounds of objection so far advanced. It appeared on October 17, 1921, in the *Times of Ceylon*, and in some other local papers on October 18. The communication will not be reproduced here, as this reply is to be *de novo*, and is intended to cover the whole ground. Its substance, however, will be drawn upon. Mr. Kantawala made a reply (*Times of*

Ceylon, October 20, 1921), in which he adduced further arguments in defence of his position. They will now be shown numbered in continuation of the former series.

16. Sanskrit is only a literary language which was never spoken, and could not have been the parent of any vernacular.

17. Sir George Grierson has laid down an axiom that wherever the Aryans proceeded in their migrations, the aboriginal language came to be abandoned and the Aryan dialects got a mastery over the native tongues.

18. History does not prove that the Sinhalese are a nation of Dravidian origin.

19. Professor Max Müller lays down the axiom that languages, though mixed in their vocabulary, can never be mixed in their grammar, which axiom is fatal to the theory of the Sinhalese grammar being Aryan on one side and Dravidian on another.

20. And on the top of all comes an opinion of Lord Mondobo, the amiable Scotch philosopher and Judge, as follows :—

"When we find that two languages practise these great arts of language—derivation, composition and flexion—in the same way, we may conclude that they are both dialects of the same language."

To this I published a rejoinder (*Times of Ceylon*, October 28, 1921), and that brought the discussion in the press to an abrupt close. It was thought that Mr. Kantawala had taken stock of his position, and retired. But it now appears that his retirement was only a retreat for purpose of refitment; and he now returns to the charge quite fit and brave, with a further continuation in the *Ceylon Antiquary*, (Vol. VII, Part IV). The arguments in this final effort are very learned, so much so that they sometimes make the better informed reader gape in amazement. I shall give one or two instances compelling this wonder, later on. The whole contribution has reference to the Morphology of the Sinhalese language, in which it is sought to show that the language agrees not with the Dravidian, but with the Aryan tongues. The evidence led is derived from the forms of words and their inflexion. I shall mark the whole of this contribution as argument No. 21.

On the strength of this array of learned arguments, supported by no less impressive a display of imposing philosophy, the whole presenting the appearance of a train of artillery with an endless armament in support, Mr. Kantawala claims to have carried every-

thing before him and to have gained the objective of his operations, as is reflected in the following words which furnish the grand climax to the brilliance of his performance :—

" From whatever point one looks at it, then, one is convinced more and more that Sinhalese is Aryan, wholly Aryan, and nothing but Aryan, in its structure."

Notice the " then " in this beautiful flourish which in such a place ordinarily introduces a conclusion to which the reader's assent is assumed as a matter of course. We are yet to see how far the assumption is justified.

Such is Mr. Kantawala's case. On the other side of the argument, he, whether wittingly or unwittingly, has made the following admissions :—

a. Sinhalese has, however, discarded the gender of irrational nouns ; verbs or adjectives are consequently indeclinable.

b. Sanskrit is, at best, their(*i.e.* of the modern Aryan languages) first cousin, claiming origin from the same common source from which they and Prakrit arose.

c. Community of idioms is the best evidence of the kinship of language.

These are important admissions, the last two in a very marked degree, as will be seen later on.

Now for my reply. I am not sure if, at the beginning of his offensive, Mr. Kantawala expected me to put in an appearance at all ; his tone of intoxication seemed to preclude such an idea as preposterous. To him, apparently, it was to be at the time a one-sided affair altogether—a case of *veni, vidi, vici*—where he had simply to come prancing on his war-horse and be saluted as the master of the situation. But when he did come in full flush of glory, we can just conceive the shock to his imagination and to his feelings of glowing expectation, when he found himself promptly unhorsed and reduced to the necessity of fighting on foot, for dear life. On this unpleasant surprise, he said naïvely that it almost amounted to a challenge. Almost ! Of course ; for to admit the possibility of a full challenge would be to mar the effect of the beautiful picture he had presented of himself on his steed and would fain yet present.

Later on, however, when his thoughts had got accustomed to the real situation, he complains of the enemy's persistence in keeping him out, this showing on his part more chastened spirit.

But habit is habit and is ever strong, and in fancy, at least, he still rides the high horse when he taunts his disobliging enemy thus :— "I wish he had confined himself to Sinhalese and not brought the other Aryan vernaculars into the vortex of his imaginative flights." Quite right! The enemy, a Sinhalese man, has no business to speak on Indian vernaculars to him, who, by natural presumption, knows better. But the rule gets inverted when the case has reference to the enemy's mother-tongue. There the man with the birthright, the Sinhalese man, is to listen, and he, Mr. Kantawala, is to enlighten him on the principles of Sinhalese philology!

Well, I do not know what to call this ; but I must confess that I rather like it ; a little " brass " in a man has always appealed to my imagination. To his credit, though, it must be said that Mr. Kantawala has sustained his charge bravely under the most trying circumstances of disappointment and annoyance resulting from the obstinacy of an unaccommodating adversary. How he would welcome a reply I do not know. But I have been challenged on my own ground ; and my perversity, no less than the interests of science, makes it unavoidable that I should review the situation and show how it stands after my friend's valiant effort. This I now propose to do.

My review will be in two parts. In part 1 I propose to show that Mr. Kantawala's effort with his guns would compare favourably with a firing of Chinese crackers before an enemy's fortress. In part 2 I propose to disclose the nature of my own defences. I now proceed to part 1 and take his arguments in the order shown.

Part I.

Arguments 1—4. On reference to these arguments as already set out elsewhere, it will be seen that arguments 1, 2 and 3, are concerned with phonetics, and 4 with the character of the Sinhalese vocabulary. Mr. Kantawala contends that they are all Aryan.

Comment. If they are all Aryan, that is only repeating what I have said—that Sinhalese in its vocabulary and grammatical flexion is an Aryan language. But while I can allow them for argument's sake, I must say, in strictness, that the Sinhalese script is immediately from the Tamils, to any reasonable mind, though remotely from the same source as the Déva Nágarí whether Aryan or Dravidian.

Argument 5 (Part 1). " Sinhalese grammar is out and out Aryan."

Comment. This is the very matter in dispute. An assertion amounts to nothing.

Argument 5 (Part 2). Any branch of Sinhalese grammar can, *mutatis mutandis*, be applied with impunity to Aryan grammar.

Comment. That remains to be seen. (See above comment.)

Argument 6. The very syntax of Sinhalese is strikingly Indian.

Comment. Of course. But Indian may be as well Dravidian as Aryan. As an argument, the statement amounts to nothing.

Arguments 7—12. The Sinhalese accidence is essentially Indian.

Comment. Of course, again. The same remarks apply as above.

Arguments 13—14. Certain principles of Sinhalese syntax, specially noticed, are also Indian.

Comment. Of course; of course. I should say all principles. But that does not touch the case either way. The question is whether Sinhalese is Dravidian or Aryan.

Argument 15. Sinhalese idioms, twenty illustrations of which are given, bear out Aryan kinship.

Comment. That is the only argument so far. But its bottom is unsound. All the idioms given are Dravidian where community is patent. The argument is challenged. I need say no more here.

Argument 16. Sanskrit is a literary language, and as such could not have been the parent of any vernacular.

Comment. This has no bearing on the issue, whatever its merits.

Argument 17. Sir George Grierson lays down the axiom that "when an Aryan tongue comes into contact with an uncivilized aboriginal one, it is invariably the latter which goes to the wall."

Comment. This axiom is adduced to prove that the so-called Aryan vernaculars prevalent in various parts of India at the present day, are pure Aryan speech, having nothing in common with the speech of the aborigines, which, in their respective districts, these sent to the wall. Indeed this seems to be the idea of Sir George himself.[1] But that eminent writer does not claim to be inspired; he writes from observation, and I conceive that his views may be submitted to scrutiny by others whose range of vision may not

1. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, new edition, vol. 2, p. 352.

tally with his own. It is from this sense of what seems almost a duty that I offer the following remarks.

There is no doubt that in India, at any rate, the language of the aborigines succumbed to Aryan speech wherever the latter gained a dominant influence. But to what extent did the latter replace it? To answer this question, we have first to ask "What is language?" Language is, of course, the visible or the audible expression of thought. Now, it is a fact within our own experience that before our thoughts are outwardly expressed, they are inwardly presented to our own mental view arranged in a particular order which we call concord, construction, or syntactical structure; and this is the ultimate aim of all the teaching of grammar, viz., to assist in the proper arrangement of our thoughts, first for inward presentation and then for outward expression, in the order to which we, in our various communities, are accustomed, that is to say, by the rules of syntax obtaining in the speech of our several communities, whether with or without our own cognition of their existence.

Even among the most uncivilized peoples, these rules do exist and mould their thoughts for purposes of expression; and in any community, no man can formulate a coherent sentence for himself without the aid of syntax. Thus men, unless educated in more grammars than one, think by the rules of their own grammar, and express themselves as they think, and this irrespective of the race or nationality of the words they employ. Whether the words be of home origin or foreign advent makes no difference in the method of their employment; that method follows established rules present to the mind, not affected by extraneous circumstances.

From the foregoing it becomes a self-evident proposition that even if a people replaced the whole of their vocabulary by words of foreign advent, thus sweeping off the whole of the superficial element of the language, and if every one of the former words had ceased to be heard, it would not follow that the language now silent had ceased to be, any more than a tree whose branches with all the foliage have been replaced by foreign grafts, or a clock whose dial and hands have given way to new ones, has passed away. For language, as already shown, has two aspects, one inorganic, mental, and spontaneous in operation, the other organic, physical, and directed by conscious effort. The inorganic aspect rules, the organic aspect obeys; and this remains true even if the material used by the organic aspect is changed or

entirely replaced, the use of the new material being still directed by the same agency. A good case in point is quoted by Max Müller, whose evidence, as coming from an authority of the opposite camp, is most important for my purpose. He says :—

" Hervas was told by missionaries that, in the middle of the eighteenth century, the Araucans used hardly a single word which was not Spanish, though they preserved both the grammar and the syntax of their native speech."

This then clinches the matter by evidence of actual fact: the whole vocabulary of a language may be gradually ousted by foreign enchroachments, but the structure of the language may remain untouched and be still the foundation of the speech of the community. It is in losing sight of this fact that Sir George Grierson has erred when he formulated the theory that, as generatons pass the "pigeon" arising from the impact of Aryan with an aboriginal language more and more approximates to the new model, and in process of time the old aboriginal language is forgotten and dies a natural death. I have shown that it need not die at all, but may be quite alive and in full function unseen ; and in regard to approximation to the foreign model, it need scarcely be pointed out that pigeon English in China still remains pigeon English after these many generations, and will so continue to the end of time, unless all the sea-ports, in fact all the coast line of the Celestial Empire be given the benefit of a sound English education on scientific principles.

Nevertheless, the axiom of Sir George Grierson is not entirely misconceived ; it only exceeds, and that by far, the actual bounds of truth. The principle it enunciates would be perfectly sound if confined to the vocabulary. His axiom, therefore, will not sustain the contention that the so-called Aryan vernaculars of India, which, by admission, replaced aboriginal tongues, are Aryan in all respects ; it still remains that they may be Dravidian in fundamentals, supposing the aborigines were Dravidians, in spite of the fact that the vocabulary may be entirely Aryan. If the fundamentals themselves have been affected by later Aryan culture, that is quite another matter.

Argument 18. History does not prove that the Sinhalese are a nation of Dravidian origin.

Comment. History does prove that Vijaya Sinha who, with seven hundred followers, founded the Sinhalese nation, came from Sinha-Pura (City of the Sinhas), the capital of a new principality

in the kingdom of Kalinga, not far removed from the frontiers of South-Western Bengal. From the geographical situation given, it is reasonable to identify the principality with Sing Bhūm (Land of the Sinhas) in Chutia Nāgpur which, even at the present day, is a Dravidian cradle. Vijaya and his seven hundred married from Pandya in South India, another Dravidian country, from which the brides came with a large following. These two contingents, the one from the North, the other from the South, were thus both from Dravidian lands, and history shows nothing inharmonious with the presumption that they were both Dravidian; and these two contingents were the dominant components in the nascent Sinhalese race. As a subordinate element was the native population, the Yakshas and the Nāgas, who, being aborigines, come under the general appellation of Dravidians. Thus, as far as history goes to show, all the component parts of the Sinhalese nation were Dravidian. The Aryan claim on behalf of the Sinhalese is an idea of recent date, originating from the lectures of Max Müller, based on imagination, and aided by the fact that the vocabulary of the Sinhalese language is to a very considerable extent Aryan. Vocabulary, like the dial in the case of the clock, is the surface view of a language; and, in the case in hand, its Aryan complexion led to the conviction that the language in all respects is Aryan. From this to the conclusion with regard to race is but one step in a superficial process of reasoning.

Argument 19. Now we come to the momentous pronouncement of Max Müller. That eminent scholar says: "Languages, however, though mixed in their vocabulary, can never be mixed in their grammar."

Comment. If this pronouncement is taken literally, and if, so taken, it is the embodiment of a scientific truth, then it is plain that I have no legs to stand on, since Sinhalese grammar cannot be Dravidian below, Aryan above. But there are two "ifs" in the case, which I shall put in the form of questions:—

(1) Is Max Müller's axiom to be taken literally?

(2) If so, is it sound?

To enable us to answer the first question, it is necessary that we should see what Max Müller himself intended us to understand by the term "grammar" in this connection. He was speaking in the language of rhapsodic declamation; and we know that when the spirit seizes him like that, his imagination rises, his mental vision

clears to a highly illuminated transcendental view of things, and his utterances then have often to be interpreted by rules with a character of their own. The present is pre-eminently a case in point. At first sight, no one would suspect that this clear statement of an apparent finding of science is in truth an oracle, with one meaning on the face of it, and another, the real thing intended, hidden at the core. The surface meaning is impressive, comes with brilliant effect, and commandeers our assent without our knowing it; and when light comes later to clear the situation, the prevailing impression is so strong that the effect of the light is scarcely perceived. We shall now see the situation in that light. Max Müller, in his own definition of grammar, says :—

"What may now be called grammar in English is little more than the terminations of the genitive singular and nominative plural of nouns, the degrees of comparison, and a few of the persons and tenses of the verb. Yet the single *s*, used as the exponent of the third person singular of the indicative present, is irrefragable evidence that, in a scientific classification of languages, English, though it did not retain a single word of Saxon origin, would have to be classed as Saxon, and a a branch of the great Teutonic stem of the Aryan family of languages."

About the ideas here appearing as to the extent of the genuine Saxon element in the grammar of the English language, we need not trouble ourselves. It is enough to point out that in his vivid scientific survey, the learned Professor seems to have entirely overlooked the syntax and idioms of the language, which form a very substantial part of the true grammar he had in view, and attest to the home stock of the language in far greater measure than the few labels he has specially noticed. We will not concern ourselves with his omissions; we shall only observe as material to our purpose that, according to the light thrown by the passage we have quoted, the "grammar" of Max Müller's axiom is not the same as grammar understood by ordinary seer or layman and such as is contained in inconveniently big volumes. His is a thing of higher refinement, separated from among all the gross elements which keep it company in the same volume and go to make up with it the effective grammar of the language, without being of the same stock; and thus withdrawn and isolated, this thing of genuine kind is exhibited in guaranteed purity. This alone, he says, shows the ancient stock, and to this alone he gives the name of "grammar." It is plain that if this is grammar, it can never be mixed, for the

simple reason that, so long as it does exist, it will be only exhibited taken apart from the rest; and for the further reason that laws of grammar, whether of the same origin or from different sources, cannot merge in one another and produce new laws. Whatever the origin of a law, the law will stand by itself, and be pure in its own kind. This is self-evident.

We are now able to answer the second question also which we have proposed to ourselves. From what has preceded, it is plain that true Anglo-Saxon elements being, in the view of Max Müller, so very few in English grammar, the bulk of that grammar as ordinarily understood consists of foreign intrusions; or in other words, English grammar in the ordinary sense is a hopeless mixture, with a minimum of Anglo-Saxon and a maximum of other elements. Thus his axiom that grammar can never be mixed is true only in a very narrow, artificial and recondite sense; in its broad, open, and natural sense, it is absolutely false and is contradicted by himself. It is a dangerous snare in the way of the unwary.

Even in his restricted sense of grammar, it may be mentioned as a matter of incidental interest that Max Müller was not correct in confining the occurrence of foreign ingredients in the English language to the dictionary only; for, though words are the concern of the dictionary, word-formation is part of grammar; and if a word shows a foreign ingredient and a Saxon element in combination, we are bound to credit with the foreign ingredient not only the dictionary where the word is recorded, but also the grammar where the formation of the word is sanctioned. The famous word "starvation," for instance, could never have been brought about unless English grammar had sanctioned a Latin suffix being tacked on to an Anglo-Saxon element. The principle is the same with all the phenomena in the English dictionary where Max Müller says the student can detect foreign ingredients. The phenomena in their physical manifestation may be in the dictionary; but their biological evolution owes itself to the influence of grammar. Such being the case, the great Professor's famous axiom that grammar can never be mixed, from whatever point of view it may be regarded, is the opposite of scientific truth. It is equalled in boldness only by the connected axiom occurring in the same rhapsody that "languages are never mixed," which, of course, is an oracle too, with a key to its inner meaning.

Thus then, Max Müller's axiom in the sense in which Mr. Kantawala has quoted it, is out of court, that sense being superficial and unauthorized. In its authorized sense, the axiom admits the bulk of English grammar to be a mixture, and thereby admits that any grammar may be mixed. Far from standing in the way of my theory, it actually supports me, if I care for any support from the enemy's resources.

One final word before I dismiss this part of the subject. It is said that Max Müller would certainly have had a most hearty laugh if he had been told that his favourite axiom was so easily found wanting. Now that the meaning of the axiom is clear, as also the sense in which it is advanced by his self-deluding devotees, one could quite understand the Professor's great amusement to see it so easily knocked over, the amusement being, of course, at the expense of the poor devotees.

Argument 20.—Lord Mondobo says that two languages having the same derivation, composition, and flexion, are sister dialects.

Comment.—This opinion is adduced to show that Sinhalese, having by admission the same derivation and flexion as Aryan vernaculars, is therefore one of themselves. But what about composition which is also a necessary condition of affinity? If it means, as it seems to mean, the building up of the sentence, then that is syntax, and I think it is obvious to any one of cultivated intelligence, even without the opinion of Lord Mondobo, that two languages agreeing in the parentage of their vocabulary, in the way their words are handled, and in the construction of the sentence, must necessarily be of the same stock. But where only two of the conditions are present, as in the case in hand, there is no justification for quoting the noble lord in support of a transparent fallacy. If it be contended that by composition Lord Mondobo meant the formation of compound words, then I say that that is included in flexion, and as syntax which, in comparison, is of the highest importance, is left out, the noble lord's opinion, based, as it would then be, on defective premises, would be worth nothing.

Argument 21.—Finally we come to the culminating evidence supposed to be supplied by the morphology of the Sinhalese language. This evidence, it is claimed, will establish that Sinhalese words in their physical constitution are analogous to words in the Aryan vernaculars, while, flexionally, Sinhalese is one stage ahead of Tamil in morphological development.

Comment.—This second part of the claim may be worth anything or nothing; I am not concerned with it either way. But with regard to the first, I have to point out that that is exactly part of my position. I thank Mr. Kantawala for all the trouble he has taken to argue the case laboriously and illustrate it so profusely, and I have pleasure in giving him whatever benefit he expected from his labour. That benefit, he says, will be the negative evidence it supplies in support of his statements. I freely grant it to the extent he has earned, *viz.*, to the extent of having proved that the Sinhalese vocabulary and accidence, being Aryan, are not Dravidian at all. This is an immediate inference which could have been drawn from that part of my position, which, to that extent, was identical, and why he went into proof is a matter which he must try to understand for himself and, if possible, explain to himself.

Thus in brief is a presentation and review of Mr. Kantawala's case. I hope I have done more justice in giving a fair view of his case than he has done in presenting mine in his last article in the *Ceylon Antiquary* (Vol. VII, Part IV). He, for instance, in reporting what I said with reference to Max Müller's famous axiom already discussed, says :—

"I quoted an axiom of Max Müller, *viz.*, that languages though mixed in their dictionary could never be mixed in their grammar. Mudaliyar Gunawardhana admitted that this axiom, if true, would tell against his theory : so he weighed it in the balance and found it failed. He illustrated by shewing that the English genitive by 'of' was borrowed from the Romance languages, and that therefore English, which had an Anglo-Saxon structure, had a mixed grammar. Need it be pointed out that Romance languages are also Latin languages ? Max Müller would have certainly had a most hearty laugh, had he been told that his favourite axiom was so easily found wanting !"

I have already shown at whose expense Max Müller would have found it safe to have a most hearty laugh, if indeed under the circumstances of the case he could afford to be hearty in merriment at all : devotion, even though embarrassing in faith unbounded, has to be treated with respect. Here it is enough if I analyse the rest of the above passage and show the curious manner my friend has gone to work. He says :—

(a) "He (Mudaliyar Gunawardhana) illustrated by shewing that the English genitive by 'of' was borrowed from the Romance Languages, and that therefore English, which had an Anglo-Saxon structure, had a mixed grammar."

Comment.—This is true as far as it goes; but then it is only part of a truth, the greater part being omitted. Is Mr. Kantawala aware that *suppressio veri* may often end, as in this case, in *suggestio falsi* though I am sure he did not mean it? Now compare the above report with what I did say (misprints being corrected):—

"Next, support is sought from Max Müller. That great scholar has said that languages, though mixed in their dictionary, can never be mixed in their grammar, which tells, of course, against my theory with regard to the grammar of the Sinhalese language. But this pronouncement can be refuted straight off by a mere reference to English speech. In Anglo-Saxon, the immediate source of English, declension was synthetic and had several cases. In modern English, some cases survive with the synthesis, but the other cases have been replaced by analytical substitutes after the Romance Languages. This is mixture in the flexional part of grammar. In the syntax, we often come across idiomatic forms of expression which are far from being Anglo-Saxon. For instance, "among other things" is a good English idiom. But we recognise in it the Latin 'inter alia' both in substance and in spirit. Milton says 'The fairest of her daughters, Eve.' In Anglo-Saxon, this would be nonsense, since Eve could not be one of her own daughters. But consider the idiom Greek, and the right meaning immediately appears. I do not want to multiply examples; one would have been sufficient to meet the case. Tested then, Max Müller's axiom fails, and my statement with regard to the composite character of Sinhalese grammar is entitled to stand, unless and until it is disproved on the merits."

Now I ask, has this been reported, even for a brief summary, with anything like reasonable attention to its substance?

(b) I am made to say that the English genitive by "of" was borrowed from the Romance Languages.

Comment.—This again is part of a truth within the aforesaid part of a truth, even for an interpretation. For, what about the

dative by "to", and the instrumental by "with" &c., which are also analytical substitutes ?

(c) Mr. Kantawala says that the Romance Languages are also Latin languages, and makes the implication that Anglo-Saxon grammar, though it may be mixed with principles from Romance, remains good English grammar all the same.

Comment.—I am quite with him. But this is what Max Müller, whose opinion is his rule of faith, has to say on the subject :—

"In the English dictionary, the student of the science of language can detect, by his own tests, Celtic, Norman, Greek, and Latin ingredients, but not a single drop of foreign blood has entered into the organic system of English speech."

Of course, the emphatic statement here is mere high-falutin if understood literally, and I have elsewhere shown that by grammar, here called the organic system, he meant not the full body of principles present in the machinery of a language, but only so much (or so little) of it as can be separated and called ancient. The point, however, is not there ; what is relevant here is that in the view of Max Müller, Latin ingredients, if present in the organic system of English speech, would be foreign blood. Mr. Kantawala tacitly concedes the existence of this foreign blood in the English organic system, but does not agree with Max Müller that its presence vitiates the system. This will not do ; he cannot both worship his hero and throw him overboard at one and the same time. If he abjures Max Müller's idealism, as good enough for purposes of classification and rhetorical flourish, but unsuitable and visionary in a matter of fact view of grammar, then he must make his recantation openly and frankly and accept the inevitable truth that grammar can be mixed and is so found mixed. He has already done so by implication ; but an express declaration ought to come with better grace. Will he rise to a sense of his duty, I wonder ?

So far I have directed my attention to the enemy's offensive ; and if I have succeeded in spiking all his guns, and shown him moreover that his most powerful piece of ordnance, the great axiom of Max Müller, is a very death-trap for himself, my work with him is done. But I may not be contented with a mere negative result. The strength of my position independently has yet to be shown. This I propose to do on a future occasion.

Mr. Kantawala in Reply.

I am obliged to the Editor of the *Ceylon Antiquary* for letting me see the article of Mudaliyar Gunawardhana before sending it to the press ; and I am much more obliged to the learned Mudaliyar for so laboriously analysing my arguments and presenting them again to the public. It was Mathew Arnold or Swinburne (I don't remember which of the two) who, while writing about the genus "*Critic*," said : "Don't take him on trust." My advice to the readers of the above article is just the same. For the rest, some Germans still boast that they have won the Great War inasmuch as the Allies, they say, never entered on an inch of German soil. But the world at large thinks differently. And if the learned Mudaliyar is of the opinion that he has "succeeded in spiking all my guns" and in "breaking my offensive," it is the reading public in general who will decide whether it is so *de facto* or not.

I do not propose to recapitulate or touch upon all the arguments and comments offered by Mudaliyar Gunawardhana. I only wish to urge that they do not convince me. I start with no preconceived opinions or bias ; and I have an inclination to learn. The more I read the Mudaliyar's arguments the more I feel that Sinhalese is out and out Aryan. The very shallowness of his data, (though he has not yet supplied much), the very slenderness of the similarities which he singles out between Sinhalese and the Dravidian languages, are signposts pointing to the opposite direction. I do not claim to have any great proficiency in Sinhalese, and I do not pose as a philological scholar ; but I do claim a slight acquaintance with the Indian Aryan vernaculars, including Sanskrit ; and, having known them, I started a simultaneous study of Sinhalese and Tamil ; it was during the course of this study that the fact that Sinhalese was also a cousin language dawned upon me.

My position is therefore different from that of the learned Mudaliyar's. My birthrights are "generic" : my acquisitions "specific." Comparison with me ought to be therefore more facile and is certainly more catching. To take a single instance, while speaking Sinhalese at home or abroad, I have, very often, merely to transliterate whole Indian sentences—idioms, proverbs and the rest—word for word, syntax by syntax, into Sinhalese : but *I cannot do so in Tamil.* Idioms which I never suspected would have travelled so far, grammatical constructions which I should not have even dreamt of finding some 1500 miles away, are still so patently, so obviously, so profusely, current in Sinhalese that,

whether the Mudaliyar wills it or no, I am still perforced to regard Sinhalese as an Aryan offshoot.

He says: "In strictness, the Sinhalese script is immediately from the Tamil." I recommend to the readers acquainted with Hindi to read a small book on epigraphy called *The Indian Lipi-Málá* by Mr. Oza, Curator at Ajmere, where he brings out the comparisons nicely. I have a book belonging to the library of the late Mr. Ayrton, where on one leaf he has tried in pencil to "evolve" the Sinhalese alphabet from the primitive one used in the stone engravings (*Shilá-lekh*) during the time of Asoka. How far Tamil script has had to do with the script of these engravings, or whether the latter had evolved again from a Dravidian script (or *vice versa*) is a matter partly for the imagination of the epicurean and partly for the study of the antiquarian. But to adduce that the Sinhalese script is immediately from the Tamil is a very bold assertion—unlikely to convince and very likely to mislead.

Readers who will go through the criticism proffered by Mudaliyar Gunawardhana will no doubt see that wherever in my former articles I had said "Indian," I meant "Indo-European" or "Aryan" as contrasted with "Dravidian." The comments on arguments Nos. 6 to 14 are therefore futile.

"The Kingdom of Kalinga, not far removed from the frontiers of South-Western Bengal—Chutia Nagpur (is this 'Chhotú Nágpur,' I wonder ?) is at the present day a Dravidian country." Is this argument to be taken seriously? Should no allowance be made for the lapse of some twenty centuries of Indian History? Does the Mudaliyar really and seriously suggest that the first and foremost settlers of Ceylon were Dravidians, let alone their marriages? If so, I confess I am beaten. I shall have to lay down my pen as there could possibly be no visible means of ingress for any Aryan syntax flexion or vocabulary in a wholly Dravidian race!

One word more. The learned Mudaliyar regards word-formation as a part of grammar, and the Sinhalese grammar as Dravidian. Was I not wise in dealing with the morphological aspect "rather laboriously"? If the morphological formation of Sinhalese words is on an Aryan basis, how much of Sinhalese grammar is non-Dravidian?

I shall be very happy to see the "independent strength" of the Mudaliyar's position. As I said before, I wish to learn and to be taught. But I certainly do not wish to be imposed upon by false theorisings or nebulous data; nor to be "bullied" by anything tantamounting to '*argumentum ad baculum*.'

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JAMES CAMPBELL OF THE "EXCURSIONS."

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired)

THE first Englishman to write a book concerned with sport in the Island of Ceylon was Lieutenant-Colonel James Campbell of the 45th Foot.

His book, *Excursions, Adventures, and Field Sports in Ceylon,* published in 1843, in two volumes, merits this description. It possesses the further distinction of being the first publication to give coloured engravings of specimens of the kind of paintings with which the walls of Buddhist temples are usually adorned. These are very faithfully reproduced in the original colours, and they give people who have never had an opportunity of visiting a *vihâre* a very good idea of its interior decorations.

Colonel Campbell therefore, though his book did not secure for him a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography,* deserves credit for the part that he took in helping to give English people some knowledge of the island which had recently become a British possession.

This paper embodies attempts to preserve some record of him from the oblivion that engulfs the name and memory of most people.

Unfortunately very little is known about him, and no other facts can now be ascertained than those that can be gleaned from his book, Army Lists, and other official and military publications, and the local *Government Gazette.* He may have descendants and relatives living, but their names and addresses are unknown. A "Query" asking for information which appeared in *Notes and Queries* for January, 1921, has elicited no reply.

Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell had already seen the whole of his active service in the Army before he came out to Ceylon. The following account of him is taken from the *Royal Military Calendar,* Vol. V., for 1820 :—

He purchased an Ensigncy in the 45th Regiment on 2nd October, 1801, and a Lieutenancy on 12th November, 1803, and

was appointed Adjutant; Captain on 29th December, 1808; Brevet Major, 3rd March, 1814; and Lieutenant-Colonel, 21st January, 1819.

In 1806 he served with his regiment in the expedition under Major-General R. Crauford to the Cape of Good Hope, and from thence went with it to South America; and was in the attack upon Buenos Ayres, where he was taken prisoner with the grenadier company. On the evacuation of Buenos Ayres, he returned to Ireland, having been seventy-five weeks embarked with the regiment. He sailed with the army in 1808 for Portugal, and was present at the battles of Roleia, Vimiera and Talavera, and in the retreat of the army into Portugal, after which he proceeded to join the 2nd Battalion in England. Having become effective in the 1st Battalion, he returned to Portugal in 1810, and joined the army on its retreat to the lines in front of Lisbon. He was present with his regiment in the 3rd Division under Picton at the affair of Pabugal and others during Massena's retreat from Portugal; also at the battle of Fuentes D'Onor, first siege of Badajos (where he acted as engineer), and at the affair of El Boden on the 26th September, 1811; at the siege and storming of Ciudad Rodrigo; second siege and storming of Badajos (where he was appointed Brigade Major to Sir J. Kempt's brigade in the 3rd Division). He was present with the brigade at the battle of Salamanca; at the surrender of the Retiro at Madrid; and in the retreat from thence into Portugal. He marched with the same brigade under Sir T. Brisbane into Spain, and was present at the battles of Vittoria; investment of Pampeluna; battles of the Pyrenees, Nive, Nivelle, and the neighbourhood of Bayonne, affairs of Vic, Bigorre, Tarbes, etc., battles of Orthes (where he obtained the rank of Major in the Army) and Toulouse. On the breaking up of the army in 1814 upon the Garonne, he embarked with the troops for North America, and was attached as Brigade Major to Major-General Sir T. Brisbane's brigade, and served with it in the attack upon Plattsburg.

In July, 1815, he returned to France with the troops from America, and was appointed Brigade Major to a brigade in the 7th Division, and on the formation of the Army of Occupation in France, to the 1st Brigade in the 3rd Division. On the reduction of that Army in 1817, the Brigade being broken up, he joined the 45th Regiment in Ireland.

It was from Ireland, after this perpetual campaigning in which he seems to have hardly missed a battle of the Peninsular War,

that he sailed for Ceylon, where one would think that he must have been glad to find that there was now no more of it. It was on 26th February, 1819, that he embarked, with the Head Quarters of the 45th., on a ship that he describes as "a large free-trader of 700 tons' burden." He does not tell us her name, but I have discovered, by a reference to the "Shipping News" section of the *Ceylon Calendar*, that it was the *Layton*.

He begins his narrative on the 1st of March, and states that he had then been "four days at sea," and I have therefore put the date of his embarcation as 26th February.

The *Layton* arrived off Galle on 6th July, but "owing to the great force of the current," she had to go on to Trincomalee, where she arrived on the 9th. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, however, was determined to disembark at Galle, and he succeeded in doing this on the 8th, with his detachment and the letters. The detachment only remained a fortnight at Galle, and then went on to Colombo.

The following is the itinerary of the journey:—

July 23. Left Galle and proceeded to "Hiccode,"[1] 12 miles. There Colonel Campbell met James Agnew Farrell of the Civil Service, who was then Collector of Tangalla.

,, 24. To Amblangodde,[2] 8 miles.

,, 25. To Bentotte,[3] 15 miles.

,, 26. To Caltura,[4] 12 miles. "Mr. A." was then Collector. This was Mr. J. Atkinson of the Civil Service, who had begun his career as Assistant of Mr. George Atkinson, the "Civil Engineer"—corresponding to Director of Public Works—and was probably his son or nephew.

,, 27. To Pantura,[5] 10 miles.

,, 28. To Colombo, 15 miles.

Colonel Campbell remained about eighteen months at Colombo, and apparently had an enjoyable time there, for "there were some very agreeable families residing upon the shores of the lake, and whom I could when so inclined easily and pleasantly visit by means of a light skiff." (Vol. I., p. 67). He went back to Galle at the end of the year, succeeding Lieutenant-Colonel Donald Macdonald

1. Hikkaduva. 2. Ambalangoda. 3. Bentota.
4. Kalutara. 5. Panadura.

of the 19th Foot as Commandant, but was soon appointed in the same capacity to the Seven Korales, with headquarters at Kurunegala. Here for the next eighteen months or two years he remained, and was as active as a sportsman as he had been as a soldier. There was a great deal of fever in the District, and it seems to have been of a more virulent type than is met with now, for he writes :—

"Formerly it was thought by many to be almost certain death to pass a single night upon the splendidly wooded banks of the Maha Oya, especially about 15 miles lower down than Allow[6] where the old road or jungle path crosses it, so prevalent was jungle fever said to be there," and states that "some years ago a company of infantry, upon its march to Colombo from a post in the interior, halted for the night on the bank of this river at the place to which the old road leads, but almost every one of them who slept there was immediately taken ill, and with the exception of a few who partially recovered, but had to be sent to England, the rest fell a sacrifice to the fearful effects of jungle fever."

He tells us too that "that beautiful and much-admired station, Allow, became so sickly that it is no longer safe for any one to remain there for even a single night," and talks of "crossing the Maha Oya and passing through that well known to be unhealthy village called Giriouli."[7]

But he did not, like Lieutenant Martin Murphy of the 73rd and Lieutenant Alexander McBean of the 83rd, shortly before his arrival, or Lieutenant Charles Abell of the 83rd who had been his companion on one of his "Excursions," succumb to the dreaded fever ; in fact the Colonel seems to have been as fortunate in escaping disease and pestilence in Ceylon as he was in escaping wounds and death in his campaigns. He enjoyed both sport and scenery, and had a capacity for the former and an eye for the latter. He describes some of the places in his district and the features of the country.

The neighbourhood of the Kospeta Oya recalls the Pyrenees. It is "a furious torrent during the wet seasons.." A good Rest-house had been built there. "This post is situated on a rising ground encompassed by lofty, wooded, mountains which often reminded me of many parts of the Pyrenees." (Vol. II, 152). There were two stations just outside the Seven Korales that were both beautiful and healthy. "Negombo is situated on the sea-

6. Alawwa. 7. Giriulla.

coast on a most picturesque point, and is considered one of the healthiest places in the Island," with "many Dutch families" residing there "on that account, as well as because the necessaries of life are very plentiful and cheap." Madawalatenna, now known as Galegedara, is "a most strikingly situated and healthy mountain station upon the road to the Kandyan capital."

This may be true of the site of the fort at Galagedara, but the fort is now a ruin, and the village and Rest-house, at a lower elevation, can be very hot, and would hardly now-a-days be reckoned a "mountain" or even a hill, station. When I saw the site of the fort last in 1910, it was all planted up with rubber, and there was no view whatever from the summit. Even the area of the fort was all rubber trees. The fort was situated on the top of a very high hill, sloping uniformly down to the high road to the north.

Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell gives some interesting information about the culture of grapes. Jaffna, then as now, was the place where this was most successful. "In my time they could only be brought to perfection at Jaffna, where even now they make wine little inferior to the best Madeira." It seems that Mr. J. W. Bennett of the Civil Service introduced into the Island "seven sorts from Teneriffe and Mauritius." But no wine that I know of is now made at Jaffna.

In his narratives of sporting excursions he mentions the existence of mad jackals, also of that strange beast, the "Cobra Coy."[8]

On 5th October, 1822, he married at Colombo, "Charlotte Alicia, only daughter of the late John Howes of County Wicklow." As a supplementary honeymoon perhaps he and Mrs Campbell went on a trip to Bombay. They left Colombo on the 11th December for that port or "the Malabar Coast," by the French ship the *Zenobia*, whose Captain, J. Pick, in spite of his name he describes as a "Frenchman." The other passengers were, as our author in his cautious fashion tells us, "Mr W., Captain G., Mr F., Staff Officer at Galle, Mrs. F. with their five children."

Here the "Shipping List" again helps us but a little only. "Mr. W." was Mr. Paymaster Webb (M. Webbe ?) and "Captain G" was Captain Gregory, who were both bound for England, after Bombay. The Staff Officer of Galle, from 1821 to 1825, we learn (but not from the "Shipping List") was Lieutenant Richard

8. *Kabaragoya.*

Fisher Fellowes of the 2nd Ceylon Regiment, a relative of the Rev. Robert Fellowes, the author of the *History of Ceylon*, whose *nom-de-plume* was "Philalethes," and we are told in the D.N.B. that it was from Lieutenant Fellowes that "Philalethes" derived his information about Ceylon. It is interesting to find him here a fellow voyager of another Ceylon writer; also that, on the authority of this writer, "Mrs F." was "a very lady-like person." Lieutenant Fellowes, on leaving Galle, went to Kurunegala as Staff Officer, and died there on 9th April, 1826, probably another victim to the climate.

There seem to have been other passengers, also unrecorded in the "Shipping List." For "Mr. and Mrs. S." had been waiting

Nor have I been able to find out anything about his parentage, or the date or place of his birth. It seems likely, from internal evidence, that he was Irish; he quotes a well-known Irish gibe about "Mullingars" as if to the manner born. His wife too was Irish. He seems to have been, what may be described as a *rara avis* among laymen of the "Protestant" Church of Ireland, a High Churchman, for in his book he talks of "pure, apostolical Christianity, as now taught and practised in that ancient Church which was founded in Britain a few years before that of Rome;" also of "pure Christianity as inculcated by the Church of England." (Vol I. 258; Vol. II, 289.)

There is no doubt that there is a portrait of him in the volume of "Silhouettes, Chiefly of Officers of the 45th Regiment, with Members of their Families, Taken from 1818 to 1826 while Quartered in Ceylon," which was put together, but not published, by Assistant Surgeon J. Paterson of that regiment, and is now in the Library of the Royal United Services Institution at Whitehall. For the Surgeon unwittingly went one better than the Colonel in the interests of anonymity, and whereas the latter of set purpose gave us only the initials of the names of persons, the former from forgetfulness or neglect omitted to write under each portrait the name of the person it depicted—an annoying lapse which has deprived his interesting gallery of portraits of half their interest.

This loss is irretrievable, but the Colonel's suppression of names can be remedied to some extent, as has already been shown. "Lieutenant A. of the 83rd Regiment" whom he found "both an intelligent and an agreeable companion," (and whose wife was, like the wife of "Mr. F." of Galle, "a very lady-like person,") was Lieutenant Abell (Vol. II, 148); "Mr. E.," Assistant Commissary at Kurunegala, was Lieutenant John Elmslie, of the 83rd; "Captain K." was Captain W. King of the Royal Staff Corps, the founder of Fort King in Four Korales; "Captain R." may have been Captain Ritchie of the 73rd who died on the voyage home in May, 1820, probably from the effects of his campaigning in Uva; "Mr. T. of the R.E." at Kurunegala was Lieutenant F. R. Thompson; "Colonel T. commanding at Kandy," was Colonel Henry Dunbar Tolley, C.B., of the 16th Regiment. "Dr. F., a friend of mine," may have been Dr. Fermier, a "Medical Sub-Assistant." But it is impossible now to say who was "Mr. C. the corpulent and red-faced subal-

tern of the 45th," unless it was Lieutenant Cosby, but he too, no doubt in perpetual *incognito*, adorns Surgeon Paterson's little gallery. Nor can we suggest an original for " the lovely Mrs. H." who put living beetles of a green or golden hue round her ball dress, but perhaps the " Mr. H." whom the Colonel met at Galle when on his way to Bombay, was her husband. Mr. W.H. Hooper of the Civil Service, whose wife was a daughter of Mr. W.C.Gibson, formerly Master Attendant at Galle and Colombo, and now a merchant prince at Galle, was at this time Provincial Judge of Colombo, but he and his wife may have been staying with her father at Galle. Colonel Campbell refers to the Gibsons' " delightfully situated and agreeable mansion " there. (Vol. II, 324.) Other " H."s of the time are still to seek.

The 45th Regiment was " the Nottinghamshire Regiment " in Campbell's day. It is now the " 1st Battalion of the Foresters," the title " Sherwood Foresters " having apparently thus been altered at the beginning of 1921. It also has the title " Nottingham and Derby." The appropriate green facings are conspicuous in Surgeon Paterson's pictures.

CHIEF JUSTICE SIR A. H. GIFFARD OF CEYLON AND THE "HABEAS CORPUS ACT."

By D. P. E. HETTIARATCHI.

IN the article on Sir Ambrose Hardinge Giffard, Kt., LL.D., Chief Justice of Ceylon, 1820-1827, appearing in the *Ceylon Antiquary* (Vol. VIII, Part I), Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., C.C.S., (retired) draws attention to a speech made by Lord Halsbury[1] at a "legal function" referring to a difference his uncle (Sir A. H. Giffard) had on one occasion with the Governor as to the application of the *Habeas Corpus Act* to Ceylon. Lord Halsbury would appear to have referred to the excitement produced at the Supreme Court of this Island during the administration of Sir James Campbell, K.C.B., owing to a regulation passed against a writ of *Habeas Corpus* for the production of a person named John Daniel Rossier, a deserter from the Regiment of the East India Company's Artillery,[2] Calcutta.

As authentic accounts on the British Period are silent on this subject, the writer has been at some pains to collect all the facts of the case, which may be here noticed.

Early in the month of January, 1824, Major General Sir James Campbell, the Lieutenant-Governor of Ceylon, received from Lord

1. Lord Chancellor of England for 17 years. He sent out in March, 1900, an oil painting of Sir Hardinge Giffard to be hung in the Supreme Court—J. Ferguson's *Early British Rule in Ceylon.*

2. "Not a rascally Frenchman attempting to fly from his creditors," as stated in Ferguson's *British Administration in Ceylon*, 1796-1878.

Amherst, the Governor-General of India, the following official communication[3] :—

"No. 147,
Military Department,
Fort William,
11th December, 1823.

Sir,

I am directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council to transmit to you the enclosed descriptive Roll as noted in the margin,* with the request of His Lordship in Council, that His Excellency the Governor in Council will be so good as to detain and send to Bengal the person in question, on the arrival of the private ship *Madras* at any port in the Island of Ceylon.

*Descriptive Roll of a man of the Regiment of Artillery (John Rossier), who has absented himself without leave, supposed to have entered as a Surgeon on board the private ship *Madras*.

I am, Sir, etc.,
(Sgd.) Wm. Casemont,
Secy. to Govt. Military Dept."

The Secretary to Government
at Ceylon.

In consequence of this letter, the Major-General, acting in his double capacity of Governor of the Island[4] and the Chief Commander of the Forces, directed the Sitting Magistrate of the port of Colombo to arrest the person therein mentioned. The Magistrate, Mr. Francis James Templer, C.C.S., thereupon went on board the *Madras* which was in the port of Colombo on January 5th (1824), the day before she sailed for Europe, arrested John Rossier "without any warrant or authority being produced to authorize the arrest," and brought him on shore "in the most mild and accommodating manner." Rossier, who was then in ill-health, for the restoration of which he was taking a sea voyage by advice, was delivered over to "military custody" until an opportunity offered of sending him to Calcutta.

Though the Governor treated this as a purely military matter, rumours soon spread among the English residents that he had violated the liberty of a British subject, and in private company much indignation prevailed respecting the arrest which was de-

3. Supplement to the *Ceylon Government Gazette* for 1834, No. 18.
4. On the departure of Sir Edward Paget, Sir James Campbell assumed the Government of Ceylon as its Lieutenant Governor—*Ceylon Government Gazette*, 6th November, 1822.

scribed as an "act of cruelty and oppression." Sir Hardinge Giffard, the Chief Justice, was much displeased with the conduct of the Governor, who acted on his own authority, without a reference to the Supreme Court. He felt his high dignity was slighted, and undoubtedly treated the matter as another military wrangling with the Judicial authorities[5]. Labouring under such apprehensions, Sir Hardinge Giffard advised Rossier's sympathisers to seek a legal remedy. This advice was soon adopted. On Friday, the 9th of January, (1824), Rossier applied to the Supreme Court of Judicature in Colombo for a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, which was issued in the usual course, commanding the Magistrate who had arrested him to bring him before the Hon'ble the Chief Justice and to explain the cause of his detention.

At the Judge's Chambers in the Fort,[6] later on the same day, appeared the Sitting Magistrate who returned that he had not the person in his custody, and to all the questions of the Court he declined giving any information of the custody in which the "Surgeon" really was, further than that he was, he believed, in "military custody." Jacobus Ebert, the Fort Constable, in whose house the prisoner was alleged to be, was then examined upon oath, and it was not until after many questions that the fact was extorted from him, that the prisoner was really in the custody of the Fort Adjutant. The Court being about to direct the writ to the Fort Adjutant, His Majesty's Advocate Fiscal, the Hon'ble Henry Matthews,[7] appeared to oppose the direction of the writ. He contended that Clause 82 of the Charter of 1801[8] gave the Court no power to issue writs of *Habeas Corpus* concerning a person in military custody. The Court over-ruled the objection, the Chief Justice stating that he recollected a case—that of Ensign Douglas,[9]—

5. *Ceylon Antiquary* Vol. vi, Pt. I.

6. "As the cause of detention which might be suggested in the return, would probably occasion some discussion, the return was directed to be made at the Judge's Chambers in the Fort, where all the parties were at hand."

7. Brilliant humourist, and author of *The Diary of an Invalid*. He was appointed Advocate Fiscal, Ceylon, in 1821, and in 1827 Puisne Justice. He died of atrophy in 1830. His son, Henry (born in Colombo in 1826), rose to be M.P. for Birmingham East and Secretary for the Home Department from 1886-1892, and in 1895 was raised to the peerage as Lord Llandaff—Ferguson's *Early British Rule in Ceylon*.

8. *Ceylon Ordinances* Vol I. p. 45. In his judgment Sir H. Giffard referred to Mr. Matthew's argument of the case in the following terms :—"This he did by arguing very ably, but I am glad to believe, very unwillingly upon the words of the clause."

9. The case of Ensign Douglas was decided on May 17th, 1804. General Wemyss, then Lieutenant Governor and Commander of the Forces, arrested Douglas at Jaffna and marched him under a military guard to Colombo, where he was detained in custody of the Fort Adjutant Wilson. Douglas sued out a Writ of *Habeas Corpus*, and was, on the return not stating sufficient legal ground for his detention, discharged.

in 1804, discharged from military custody by Sir Edmund Corrington who framed the Charter, and by Mr. E. H. Lushington, one of the most cautious and conscientious of Judges ; and as in turning over the Charter he saw that the powers of a Court of Equity had been given to the Supreme Court, and as he knew that the Lord Chancellor of England had at Common Law a right of issuing writs of *Habeas Corpus*, he concluded that this Court thence derived its authority to grant a writ in such a case as the present. Further, on looking into the Records, the Chief Justice found " a stream of precedents "[10] to sustain the opinion that the Court had a right to issue the writ to military persons. The Court then decided upon issuing the writ to Lieutenant Thomas Deacon, Fort Adjutant of Colombo, to produce forthwith the body of John Rossier before the Hon'ble the Chief Justice.

Thereupon the Advocate Fiscal desired time to communicate with Government and to prepare a Return, and the Court, upon that gentleman's undertaking on behalf of Government that nothing should be done in the interval to change the state of the case, allowed him, with the consent of Mr. John Frederick Giffening, Proctor of the said Rossier, until Monday, the 12th of January, for the purpose.

In the interval the Advocate Fiscal gave his opinion to the Governor that the authority vested in him by the Mutiny Act to detain in custody any person whose detention was necessary for His Majesty's service, only applied to the deserters *in the King's service*, and that there was no authority in the Colony to arrest or detain a deserter from the *Company's Service*.[11] The Governor, deeming it a fit emergency for the exercise of the legislative functions entrusted to the head of the Government by His Majesty's instruc-

10. The following Writs of *Habeas Corpus* were directed to Fort Adjutants to bring up persons in military custody :—

1812,	Octr. 27	In the case of	John Jones,	19th.	Regiment.
1814,	June 22	do	J. Douglas,	73rd.	,,
1815,	,, 2	do	Acdeen,	1st. Ceylon	,,
1816,	March 28	do	Coope Seedien, Payen, and Amat,	Malay	,,
1817,	June 5	do	Absalom,	1st. Ceylon	,,
1823,	Novr. 3	do	Palligilohettige Samuel Appu,	Armed Lascoreen Corps.	

11. Earl Bathurst, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, in a despatch to Sir Edward Barnes, observed that, " by giving as his (Matthew's) opinion that there existed no authority to apprehend deserters from the army of the East India Company, he created a difficulty which did not in law exist, and made himself, in a considerable degree, responsible for the conduct of the Governor, in consequence of this erroneous opinion of the Advocate Fiscal "—*Asiatic Journal* for 1825.

tions,[12] resolved to vindicate his authority by means of an *ex post facto* law. He therefore issued, on Saturday, the 10th of January, (1824), a Regulation which delcared and enacted that "it was, is, and shall be lawful to any officer, Civil or Military, or other person in whose custody any person may be confined by the authority or order of the Governor, or Lieutenant Governor, to certify a copy of such order in return to *any process* issuing out of any Court calling on such officer to produce such person before it, which copy shall be a *sufficient return to such process without producing the body of such person*, and no further proceedings shall be had by any Court on such process touching such person."[13]

This regulation—No. 1 of 1824—did not pass without a protest from the Chief Justice and Member of Council.[14]

On the Monday succeeding this extraordinary enactment the case came on before Sir H. Giffard, who was, of course, controlled in his authority by the law passed in the intermediate time, and it was held that the said return was under and by force of the said regulation valid.

It is much to be regretted that the eloquent and feeling judgment pronounced on this occasion has not received the publicity it deserves.[15] The importance of this judgment in showing Sir Hardinge Giffard's uprightness and independence as a Judge,[16] added to the probability of the old record being soon lost, is the excuse for inserting here the following passage from it :—

The Chief Justice, after touching on the history of the case, went on to say that "the undertaking on the part of the Advocate Fiscal still pending, in the interval between Friday and Monday, it has pleased the Lieutenant Governor to enact the Regulation now before us."

"I cannot," he added, "bring myself to believe that His Majesty's Advocate Fiscal was in any wise a party to this total change of

12. Charter of 1801 authorized the Governor in Council to make regulations, either new, or declaratory of former laws, when the same may be either necessary or unavoidable, or evidently beneficial or desirable.

13. "Regulation for removing all doubts respecting the rights of the Governor of this Island to arrest or detain in custody any person or persons within the same."—See Supplement to *Ceylon Gazette* for 1824, No. 1181 of 10th January.

14. "Mr. Matthews was blamed much for the supposed breach of faith on his part, and he was unable to defend himself at the time, but it was well-known afterwards that he had done all in his power to prevent the Regulation, but was over-ruled by the Governor who was supreme at the time and could, with the aid of one or two of the highest Civilians, pass any law he pleased"—Ferguson's *British Administration*.

15. The judgment does not appear in the *Law Reports* for 1820-1833 by Mr. (now Sir) P. Ramanathan, or in the *Legal Miscellany*, edited by Edwin Beven and A. Mills.

16. The Collective Court (Sir Edward Creasy, C. J., Temple and Stewart J.J.) sitting in appeal on the 21st June, 1866, said that "for few judicial opinions did it entertain so high a respect as for Sir H. Giffard's"—*Colombo D.C. Case* No. 38239.

the situation of the case. I know too well his high and, I will venture to say, warm feelings where honour is concerned, to suppose it for a moment. If there has been a breach of the engagement, it was not a breach committed by him.

"To this Regulation it is our duty to submit; it emanates from a competent legislative authority, and whatever may be our feelings upon the subject, we have no choice but to act under it as long as it is permitted to remain in force.

"By this Regulation the objection to the power of the Court to issue a writ of *Habeas Corpus* is abandoned; on the contrary as far as it goes, it admits and acknowledges that power, and affirms the decision of the Court.

"But it deprives the Court of all right of enquiring into the cause of any person being so detained whom the Governor, the Secretary, or the Deputy Secretary by his authority may have ordered to be imprisoned; it excludes the Court from even a sight of the person so imprisoned, and its operation extends to every human being in this Island, or even on board a ship in its roads and harbours.

"It would ill become a Judge to make observations upon the spirit of any act of the Legislature. I may feel that I am myself as well as the poorest subject in this Island liable to its operation, I may feel this regulation places Ceylon in the situation of being the only part of His Majesty's dominions in which anything like such an enactment prevails, but I must acknowledge the power of the Governor to make such or any other regulation whatever.

"Yet human power may find a limitation when it seeks to operate upon the mind, and when this Regulation undertakes to declare *that* to have been the Law of this Island, which the Chief Justice representing the Supreme Court, which His Majesty's Advocate Fiscal, his own Law Officer, which the whole stream of precedents, and which the uniform usage of the Supreme Court, declare *not* to have been the Law, it is no irreverence even of his high authority to suppose that it may fail of convincing the understanding.

"It is not that such a Regulation impends over me as well as every other subject in the Island; it is not because in the possible case of a bad Governor, a tremendous use might be made of its power, that I abstain from making any observations. I trust that if personal danger only were to be encountered I should not fail in my duty, but it is because I bow to the authority of my Sovereign thus, as I trust, temporarily exercised by his delegate, that I say this return is supported by the Regulation, that this regulation is the Law of Ceylon, that we have no right to enquire why this British subject is deprived of his liberty, and that the Court is reduced to the heart-breaking necessity of saying that His Majesty's Writ of *Habeas Corpus* is of no effect."[17]

The Bengal Hurkaru and Chronicles, commenting on these remarks on a later occasion, said: "A King's Judge could not perhaps use stronger language in speaking of the acts of the King's

17. *Colombo Observer* of January 27, 1842.

representative; but it would be difficult to exceed the just measure of reprobation which such a proceeding demanded."[18]

It is here necessary to advert to the arrangements made for providing John Rossier with accommodation suitable for his state of health. Whilst Rossier was in custody he was treated with every degree of kindness. Instead of being confined as an ordinary deserter, in a military guard-room, he was, from the time of his landing, accommodated, under the surveillance of the staff officer, at the house of a respectable Burgher—the Constable of the Fort of Colombo,—and by special orders was provided with a separate apartment and proper diet. Moreover, no sooner was his bad state of health reported to Sir James Campbell (the day after his arrival on shore) than orders were communicated to the head of the Medical Department for his reception into the garrison hospital. From some misconception, however, on this subject, he was not sent there, but from motives of humanity, he was daily visited by Dr. Chas. Farrell, M.D., Deputy Inspector-General, who had become acquainted with the circumstances of his case and who administered to his wants in every respect.

The next step was the assembling of a Medical Board, which gave it as their opinion that a sea voyage of long duration would afford the best chance for the re-establishment of the invalid's health, in preference to sending him back to the climate of Bengal, where his disease had originated. Whereupon the General gave immediate orders to the Engineer Department for proper and separate accommodation to be prepared in the ship *Alexander*, which was accordingly done.

At this time Lieutenant-General Sir Edward Barnes arrived from England to assume the Government and command of the Army.[19] He, at the request of Sir James Campbell, gave orders for the assembling of a second Medical Board to report its opinion on the state of health of John Rossier, whether he was in a fit state to be sent to England, and further, whether the accommodation fitted up on board the *Alexander* was suited to the present state of health of Rossier.

The Board reported its opinion that no suitable accommodation had been or could be allotted in the then state of the ship, and that his proceeding on the voyage to England, under these circumstances,

18. *Bengal Hurkaru*, February, 8, 1834.

19. Sir Edward Barnes came to the Island with supreme civil and military authority on 18th January.—*Ceylon Gazette*, No. 1183 of 18th January, 1824.

would aggravate the disease and consequently endanger, if not abridge, the life of the sufferer.

Proper accommodation was therefore ordered to be prepared in the garrison hospital, whither he was removed, and at the same time the option of remaining in hospital or of occupying suitable accommodation in the Fort at the expense of Government was given to the invalid, whose reply was in the following words, addressed to Dr. Farrell :—

" Sir,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 25th inst. (Jany. 1824) in reply to which I beg leave to state that I am quite satisfied with the accommodation that I have in the garrison hospital.

(Sgd.) J. D. Rossier."

The poor man, however, died in the Garrison hospital on the 12th of February, 1824, of consumption.[20]

It now remains to see the light in which Sir James Campbell's action in this matter was viewed by the Tory Government of His Majesty George IV. Mr. Joseph Hume, the indefatigable member of Parliament for Aberdeen, moved in the House of Commons for copies of the official documents, in May, 1825. These documents were produced in the July following. The *Asiatic Journal*, in commenting upon these proceedings, says : " In the course of this transaction, owing, it seems, in a great measure, to the serious mistake committed by the Advocate Fiscal, it is impossible not to regret the conspicuous part which the Chief Justice was led, perhaps unavoidably, by circumstances to act. Three documents from this personage appear among the papers :—his Protest as a Member of Council, his speech in Court on discharging the mandate or writ, and his letter to Lord Bathurst. Each of these documents was deliberately penned; but neither is altogether free from what the world is apt to characterize, in a person of his dignified position, as intemperance."[21]

Be that as it may, His Majesty George IV did not approve of the piece of legislation, and the *Asiatic Journal* adds that " the measures adopted by Sir James Campbell, though disapproved by His Majesty, who has annulled the regulation referred to as savouring too much of a military spirit, are far from inexcusable, when the circumstances of his situation are considered. Wrongly

20. For these particulars the writer is indebted to a letter of Lieut-Col. G.W.Walker in whose hands Sir James Campbell left the official papers referring to this case. In his opinion the only fault imputable to Sir James was the application of a general and sweeping law to a special case. " Had the law been," he says, " limited to the case of deserters, and of accused or condemned prisoners, no enactment could have been more salutary."—Supplement to *Ceylon Gazette*, 5th March, 1834.

21. *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British India and its Dependencies*, 1825.

advised by his official counsellor, and certified—whether accurately or not is another question—of extra-judicial and irregular conduct on the part of the Chief Justice, whose opinion thereby became more suspicious, to him, on the one side; and on the other, urged by a sense of duty to His Majesty's instructions, according to his own interpretation of them, and conscious of the mischief which must result to the colony, if the representations of the Advocate Fiscal were correct, it is by no means to be wondered at that he should have committed an error."[22]

However, owing perhaps to the disordered state of the country, in which political disturbances were reported from time to time, the Ordinance, No. 1 of 1824, was not disallowed by the King till six years later. In the year 1830 the King, William IV,[23] repealed the Regulation by the Order of Council dated November 1st.[24] It conferred on the Governor of Ceylon a right, without the interference of Law Courts, to detain for 11 months, or otherwise as was provided, those whom the Governor and two members of Council should under their warrant commit for "high treason, suspicion of high treason, or treasonable practices." And at the same time it declared that the Supreme Court of Ceylon, or any Judge thereof, had the right to issue a *Habeas Corpus* as fully and effectually as by the law of England such a writ could be issued by any of His Majesty's Supreme Courts of Record at Westminister.

Thus was the odious regulation revoked and the *Habeas Corpus* restored to Ceylon.[25]

In justice to the memory of Sir James Campbell, an officer highly distinguished in the annals of the British Army in the Peninsula, it may be mentioned here that, though in these proceedings he "cared little for political privileges and civil rights and deeming his object justifiable went straight-forward to it by means of the power with which he was invested, throwing down all obstacles of law and constitutional liberty to reach it," he was, during his short administration of Ceylon, well known for his humanity and benevolence.

22. *Ibid*, 1825.

23. King George IV died on 26th June, 1830.

24. Government advertisement dated 10th June, 1831.—See *Ceylon Government Gazette* No. 1640 of 11th June, 1831. This order continued to be in force until 31st Decr. 1834, and expired when the Charter of 1833 was introduced.

25. In this reversal of Sir James Campbell's proceedings it seems appropriate to quote an extract from an elaborate address of Sir H. Giffard on the Administration of Justice in Ceylon. "A Judge," says he, "who seeks his own ease, would court rather than regret a revision of his proceedings. The best and wisest feel most gratified at having their sentences, appealed from. The load which is unavoidably felt by a man who is conscious that he is not infallible, is thus lightened; and his determination, if sanctioned by the ultimate tribunals, must give him satisfaction, which he would not otherwise enjoy, or if reversed, must relieve him, from all further responsibility."—*Ceylon Gazette*, 8th February, 1823.

HOATSON'S SINHALESE PRACTICE OF MEDICINE AND MATERIA MEDICA.

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY T. PETCH.

AMONG a number of documents, formerly in the possession of the late William Ferguson, which were presented to the Royal Botanic Gardens several years ago, there occurs the original manuscript of a paper by J. Hoatson, Assistant Surgeon, 1st Ceylon Regiment, entitled *The Singalese Practice of Medicine and Materia Medica.* The manuscript is dated "Alipoot, 10th August 1822." It contains lists of the plants, etc., employed medicinally by the Sinhalese, and an extensive series of prescriptions for various diseases. The manuscript is complete except for the first and last pages, which have, in some way yet uncertain, been supplied by its late possessor.

Apparently, few particulars are available concerning Hoatson. According to Lewis (*List of Inscriptions on Tombstones and Monuments in Ceylon*), he joined the 3rd Ceylon regiment on January 28, 1816, and was gazetted Assistant Surgeon in the 73rd from May 29, 1817. Alipoot, where he was stationed in 1822, is fifteen miles east of Badulla (J.L.Vanderstraaten, "A brief Sketch of the Medical History of Ceylon," *C.B.R.A.S. Journal, IX*, pp. 306-355), and is now known as Alipota (White, *Manual of the Province of Uva*, pp. 11, 96). He was stationed at Kotabowa, in Wellassa, in 1819 (see Davy, quoted in White's *Manual*, p. 13). He died on November 7th, 1823, at the age of 31 years, and was buried in the old cemetery, Badulla. Lewis records that he wrote a paper on the "Sinhalese Practice of Medicine and Materia Medica," which was not published.

Hoatson's paper was presented to the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society by Charles Farrell on Sept. 22nd, 1822, and read (?) before the Society on October 15th of the same year. Farrell's covering letter may be quoted.

"Mr. Hoatson, Assistant Surgeon, 1st Ceylon Regiment, having with great industry and diligence collected and condensed

into one memoir all the information to be derived from the writings on medical subjects to be met with among the natives of this Island as well as that obtained by conversation with learned natives, I have now the honor to present to the Society the result of his labours and researches.

"I trust I may be allowed, as a member of the medical profession, to observe on the present Memoir that altho' it adds little or nothing to our present stock of knowledge on the subjects of which it treats, it serves to show the vast, and without such ground of comparison, almost inconceivable height, to which improvement may be carried in the practice of medicine and the Materia Medica by the proper application of the powers of the human mind."

At the Annual Meeting of the Society held on January 16th, 1823, Sir Hardinge Giffard delivered an address recounting the progress of the Socitey from its foundation in 1820, in which he referred to Hoatson's paper in the following terms :—

"In Mr. Hoatson's very full account of the Singhalese practice of Medicine and their Materia Medica, if we do not find anything to rival the improved state of medical knowledge in Europe, we can contemplate with some advantage the extent to which perseverance in original error, unenlightened by the operations of the understanding, will carry the human mind : their system seems to combine all the old absurdities of European ignorance upon this important topic, with an abundance of truly Indian origin." (*Govt. Gazette*, Jan. 25th, 1823).

On April 28th, 1824, it was decided to publish several of the papers which had been read before the Society, among them this by Hoatson, but I cannot find that the publication was ever effected. The paper is certainly too long for inclusion *in toto* in the *Government Gazette*, then the only newspaper of the Island, and there is no reference to it in the *Gazette* for 1824—1825. Ainslie, in his *Materia Indica* (1826), Vol. II, p. 527, wrote : "Nor is less praise due to Mr. Hoaston (*sic*) of Ceylon, for his researches, respecting both the Materia Medica, and the practice of medicine of the Cyngalese, as contained in a paper lately laid before the Literary Society of Ceylon" ; but there is no evidence in his book that he was able to avail himself of Hoatson's information.

Yet it would appear from the materials at hand, that the paper was published in some form, at least in part. As already stated,

the first and last pages of the original manuscript are wanting. But Ferguson had a copy made, and in this copy the missing pages are supplied, with a note where the original begins and ends. Whence Ferguson obtained the copies of these missing pages is not explained, but the fact that he was able to do so points to a previous publication. The copy of the whole manuscript and the additional copies of the two missing pages which have been annexed to the original are not in Ferguson's handwriting, but they are on the same paper as that used by him for other notes on the subject of native medicines. There is the alternative solution that the two pages in question were so dilapidated that after their contents had been deciphered they were discarded. But whether published previously or not, Hoatson's paper is of considerable interest, and, if only from a historical standpoint, deserves to be more widely known. In publishing it here, it will of course be understood that we do not necessarily endorse Hoatson's expressions of opinion on the subject.

Hoatson supplied the scientific names of the plants referred to, as far as he was able. Where possible, further notes on these have been added. Hoatson wrote his paper in 1822, two years before the publication of Moon's *Catalogue*, and he does not appear to have consulted Moon. Indeed, he records vernacular names of plants which are not cited by Moon ; and as the latter collected vernacular names from all possible sources, it may be presumed from that that Hoatson worked independently. Hermann, who collected Ceylon plants in 1672—77, recorded many Sinhalese names. Latin names, according to the binomnal system, were bestowed on Hermann's plants by Linnaeus in *Species Plantarum*, 1753. Later, Ceylon plants were included, under scientific names, in the works on Indian botany by Roxburgh. Some of these publications may have been available to Hoatson. In a large number of cases, however, he was unable to identify the species indicated by the vernacular name, because they had not been described up to that time.

For the elucidation of the names of plants and drugs given by Hoatson, contemporary information is scanty. We have, of course, the lists of Sinhalese names compiled by Hermann and Thunberg. Ainslie, in his *Materia Indica*, the first edition of which, under the title of *Materia Medica of Hindoostan*, was published in 1813,obtained many Sinhalese names from Edward Tolfrey,

of the Ceylon Civil Service, who died at Kandy, Aug. 9th, 1821, when Judicial Commissioner for the Kandyan Provinces. But in the second edition, *Materia Indica*, many of the Sinhalese names cited are quoted from Moon, and Ainslie's evidence consequently ceases to be independent.

To the uninitiated it might appear that Moon's *Catalogue*, with its wealth of Sinhalese names, would afford all the information required, with the certainty that the names were in use at the time when Hoatson compiled his memoir. To some extent, this is true as regards the first part of the *Catalogue*, though Moon frequently misidentifies his plants, and the new names he personally bestowed on them are generally *nomina nuda*, as he never published descriptions except of one plant. But the second part, Moon's *Sinhalese Botany*, which consists of page after page of Sinhalese names, is the most unsatisfactory part of what was styled by Tennent "a somewhat unsatisfactory performance." Moon gathered names from every possible source, from books or from any person he happened to meet, and these he arranged in " genera " according to some root word in the combinations enumerated. But he made very little attempt to associate his names with any plants, and his "genera" consequently are words only. As a philological curiosity, his *Sinhalese Botany* may be interesting, but it is not botany. In the sixteenth century such work would have passed muster, but it is incomprehensible that any one should have published it in the nineteenth. The extraordinary character of the Botany in question will be evident when it is realised that an English botanist, proceeding on the same principle, would make a genus "rose," including the species wild-rose, dog-rose, rock-rose, primrose, guelder-rose, tuberose, rosemary, etc.

For the interpretation of Hoatson's names, therefore, we are dependent chiefly on the later lists of Thwaites and Trimen, with some assistance from Ferguson's MSS. Ferguson evidently inquired into the subject of native medicine much more deeply than his published writings would appear to indicate, and it is to be regretted that his wide knowledge was never reduced to book form. He apparently obtained through different buyers all the bazaar drugs he could in Colombo, Jaffna, etc., and determined the source of each, recording at the same time, in a different list for each locality, the name under which it was supplied to the purchaser. Only a few of these lists now remain. They are cited under Ferguson's name in the notes in the following pages.

Naturally, Hoatson's spelling of Sinhalese names is not always in accordance with modern practice. We have also to take into account the possibility of errors due to his method of obtaining the names. He tells us that he wrote the names down as they were read out to him, with the assistance of an interpreter, and subsequently compiled the lists from the prescriptions. The co-operation of three individuals multiplies the chances of error in transliteration.

As Hoatson compiled his lists from the recipes, the names in them do not necessarily represent so many distinct drugs. They may be merely variant spellings of the same name, as for example, "*Inderu*," "*Endaru*," and (perhaps) "*Eleru*."

In general, however, the names cited by Hoatson are in use at the present day. Whether they in all cases represent the same plant is an insoluble problem, except in those instances in which Moon's evidence, or Hermann's can be relied on. For the benefit of other than Ceylon readers, it may be noted that the interchange of *w* and *v*, and of *h* and *s*, is frequent in transliterations of Sinhalese names. Hoatson habitually omits the *y* which is now inserted between two distinct vowels, e.g. "*Diamitta*" for "*Diyamitta*," and this in some cases makes identification of his names uncertain; *ae*, for example, may be the modern *e*, as in "*wael*," or it may represent two distinct syllables, as in "*maele*" for "*mayila*." "*Sevie*," again, is three syllables, "*Siviya*."

The recipes have been left as Hoatson wrote them. To determine the probable identity of the substances given, it will be necessary, therefore, to refer to the annotated list of drugs. This is no doubt an inconvenient arrangement, but it was felt that any correction of Hoatson's names would confer too great an appearance of accuracy.

The determination of plants from their local names is, in any country, an unsatisfactory proceeding. As is well known, local names of the same plant differ with the locality, and, conversely, a given name may be employed in different districts to denote widely different plants. In the case of medicinal plants, it is usually possible to obtain a sure determination by an examination of the drug supplied by the market. In the East, however, it is by no means certain that an examination of bazaar samples will lead to identification, for in medicine, as in other paths, the East has ways of its own. In the first place, one meets with the

usual trade adulteration which is shared by all countries alike. Added to this is a peculiar practice of substitution, due in part to the fact that the fresh plant is so often employed in making up a prescription. It is evident that if a prescription, originally invented in India, prescribes the use, in its fresh state, of a plant which does not grow in Ceylon, the prescription must be discarded or some other plant substituted. It would appear that the latter course is adopted, and the foreign name applied to the local plant, though the latter may be destitute of any medicinal qualities. There is also another type of substitution, in which a common local drug is substituted for a foreign or rare drug, and the names of the two are treated as synonyms.

"*Kelinda*" affords an example of fraudulent substitution. Kelinda is *Holarrhena antidysenterica*, a well-known Indian medicinal plant. But the "*Kelinda-eṭa*" of the bazaars are the seeds of *Wrightia zeylanica*, "*Val-idda*," which have no medicinal value, and the bark of *Holarrhena mitis*, "*Kiriwalla*," is sold as "*Kelinda*."

Another type of substitution may be illustrated by the drug known as "*Vagapul*." "*Vagapul*" consists of the dried calyces of *Careya arborea*. In Bombay, these are sold as medicinal under the name "*Vakumbha*." In the Ceylon bazaars, it is possible to purchase them under the name "*Vagapul*," but the article usually supplied under that name in the boutiques is Long Pepper, "*Tipili*," and the purchaser is assured that "*Vagapul*" and "*Tipili*" are the same. Hence Clough gives "*Vagapul*" and "*Tipili*" as synonymous, as also does Hoatson in his list of drugs, though the two are quite different, whether considered medicinally or from appearance merely.

In this connection, it may be noted that the Sinhalese Materia Medica must be judged by what it is, not by what it ought to be. If non-medicinal substitutes are employed in Ceylon, the fact that the original prescription, as used in India or elsewhere, contains valuable drugs, is irrelevant.

The following list of Sinhalese prefixes, quoted from Trimen, may be of assistance in enabling readers to grasp the significance of the alternative renderings of Sinhalese names which it has been necessary to give in some instances.

Bin ..	Ground	*Geḍi* ..	Fruit	*Maha* ..	Large
Bu ..	Woolly	*Geṭa* ..	Knot	*Raṭa* ..	Foreign
Ela ..	Pale, White	*Goḍa* ..	Land	*Raṭu* or *Rat*	Red

Et	..	Great	*Hin*	..	Small	*Sudu*	.. White
Gal	..	Rock	*Kalu*	..	Black	*Val*	.. Wild
Gam, or *Gan*		Village, Native	*Kaṭu*	..	Thorny	*Vel*	.. Climber
Gas	..	Trees					

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SINGALESE PRACTICE OF MEDICINE AND MATERIA MEDICA.

[BY J. HOATSON.]

It is a belief entertained by the Singalese that every plant and tree has a medicinal virtue provided it was properly ascertained. Hence it is that there are so many plants and trees met with in Ceylon which have their medicinal uses ascribed to them, but whether suppositious or real, they would require to be ascertained by actual administration according to the forms prescribed by the Singalese, and by observation of the effects produced ; for superstition seems to have rendered a Singalese incapable of judging of or even of seeing natural effects. Whether from a species of low cunning or from a wish to deceive, he is certain to ascribe effects, if he is sensible of them at all, to any other cause rather than to the natural one. Medicine with the Singalese in this part of the country is most commonly a secondary resource for the cure of a disease. It is generally resorted to after the invocation of devils, which they

blame for all sorts of evils, have failed. The evil spirit is even blamed when medicine fails to produce the desired or wished-for effect. Previous to the administration of even a single dose of medicine a short address or prayer is always made by the Wederales to some supposed spirit whose evil designs might counteract the beneficial effects of the medicine.

The plants used by the Singalese as medicine in the interior of the country are in the greater proportion gathered from the jungle at the instant they are required for use. However, there are articles which form ingredients in their prescriptions for pills, etc., which they purchase in the bazaars, particularly "*Ginde-gan*" (Sulphur), "*Hirial*" (Yellow arsenic), "*Rahadia*" or "*Rassedia*" (purified mercury), "*Sadilingan*" (native cinnabar), etc. There are some kinds of wood used by them in medicine, which they also buy in the bazaar, as "*Rat Handung*" (red sandal wood), "*Sudu Handung*" (white sandal wood), and some others put down in the list of imported articles. Aromatics of different kinds constitute prominent ingredients in almost every one of their prescriptions, and for the greatest number they are indebted to other countries, and of course these articles are imported, such as cloves, mace, nutmegs, coriander seeds etc. A species of nutmeg is found as a native of this Island agreeing in every particular with the imported one, but in the strength of its flavour.

Before giving a list of the different plants and other articles used by the Singalese as medicine, it will be necessary to give an explanation of the different terms as applied by them to distinct parts or products of the plant, shewing whether the root, leaves, bark, gum, or seed, etc., is the part made use of in medicine.

1st. "*Etta,*" put after the native name, means the seed and shows that it is made use of as medicine—for instance, "*Aba-Etta*" or seeds of "*Aba*" (*Sinapis nigra*).

2nd. "*Mada,*" put after the name of the plant or tree signifies that the kernel of the nut is alone used[1] as, for example, "*Kumburu-etta-mada,*" or the kernel of the nut (*etta* signifying the seed as before stated) of "*Kumburu.*"

3rd. "*Gedi*" or "*Ghedia,*" signifies any fruit resembling in form or size an apple.

4th. "*Potu,*" put after the native name, means the bark of the tree, as for instance, "*Kurundu-potu*" or the bark of "*Kurundu,*" (Cinnamon bark).

1. [The original MS. begins here.—Ed.]

5th. "*Colla*" or "*Kolla,*" put after the native name, signifies, that the entire leaf is the part intended for use; for example, "*Wara-kolla*" or leaves of "*Wara*" (*Asclepias gygantica*, Lin.).

6th. "*Mool,*" put after the native name, signifies that the root of the plant is used; for instance, "*Beli mool*" or the root of "*Beli*" (*Crataeva Marmelos*, Lin.).

7th. "*Dalu,*" put after the name, means that the young and tender leaf immediately after exclusion is the part to be used, as for instance, "*Kossamba dalu*" or tender leaves of "*Kossamba*" (*Melia sempervirens*, Lin.)

8th. "*Isma,*" put after the native name, signifies that the expressed juice is used, as for instance "*Nika-dalu-isma*" or the expressed juice of the young leaves of "*Nika*" (*Vitex foliis quinatis*, Lin.)

9th. "*Netti,*" put after the native name, signifies the foot-stalks of the leaves are used, as for example, "*Adhatoda-netti*" or the foot stalks of the leaves of "*Adhatoda,*" (*Justicia adhatoda*, Lin.)

10th. "*Curu*" or "*Kuru,*" put after the native name of the plant, signifies that the nerve of the leaf is the part used, as for example "*Kossamba-kuru,*" or the nerves of the leaves of "*Kossamba,*" (*Melia sempervirens* Lin.).

11th. "*Gaha*" or "*Ghaha,*" put after the native name, signifies a tree, as for example "*Bo-Ghaha,*" or the tree of "*Bo*" or contraction for Boudah, (*Ficus religiosa* Lin.)

12th. "*Kiri,*" put after the native name, signifies that the milk-like juice of the tree or plant is used—as for instance "*Badula-gaha-kiri,*" or the milk-like juice of the "*Badula*" tree.

13th. "*Latu,*" put after the native name, signifies that the gum of the tree is used—as for example "*Diwul-latu,*" or the gum of the tree "*Diwul,*" used on this Island as Gum Arabic.

14th. "*Vel*" or "*Wael,*" put after the native name, means that the plant is a creeper, or has a voluble stem—as for instance, "*Iomba-vel*" or the voluble "*Iombe*" (*Gaertnera racemosa* Lin.).

15th. "*Mal,*" put after the native name of the plant or tree, signifies that the flower is the part instanced for use—as for example, "*Rat-mal*" or the Red Flower, (*Ixora coccinea* Lin.)

16th. "*Rha*" or "*Ra,*" put after the native name, signifies that the juice called Toddy by Europeans is used, as for instance, "*Kitul-ra*" or Jaggery tree toddy (*Caryota* Lin.)

17th. "*Watura,*" put after the native name, signifies any water-like juice, or even water itself.

18th. "*Alla,*" put after the native name, signifies any tuberose root, as for instance, "*Alu-Kehel-Alla*" or the tuberose root of "*Alu-Kehel*" (the ash-coloured plantain).

19th. "*Cudu*" or "*Kudu,*" put after the native name, signifies any kind of dust or powder, as for example, "*Gadulu-Kudu,*" or dust of "*Gadulu*" (Brick dust.)

20th. "*Tel,*" put after the native name, signifies any sort of oil, as for instance, "*Tala-tel,*" or oil of "*Tala*" (*Sesamum orientale* Lin.)

21st. "*Lunu,*" put after the native name, signifies a salt of any kind, as for instance,[2] "*Zawekare-lunu,*" or Sal Ammoniac. ["*Yakawara-lunu,*" saltpetre.—T.P.]

22nd. "*Loonoo,*" put after the native name, means an onion of any kind, or any root resembling an onion, as for example, "*Sudu loonoo*" or white onions (Garlic), or "*Ratte loonoo*" or red onions (Shallots).

List of plants and substances used as medicine by the Singalese, containing their native names, the Linnaean genera and species.

Singalese or native name.	*Linnaean Genus and species.*
1. **Aba-etta**	[3]*Sinapis nigra.*

["*Aba,*" the common mustard of Ceylon, is *Brassica juncea* Hk. f. and Th. Hoatson stated that it was grown in the Henna (*i.e.* Chena) fields. Trimen gave "*Aba*" as *Brassica juncea*, and stated that it was grown for the oil from its seeds. Ferguson purchased "Mustard seed" in the bazaars under the name "*Aba,*" but did not record the species.]

2. **Abing** The crude opium of commerce.

[Purchased by Ferguson under the name "*Abin.*"]

3. **Adhatoda** *Justicia adhatoda.*

[*Justicia Adhatoda* L. is *Adhatoda Vasica* Nees. The name "*Adhatoda,*" in various forms, has been recorded for that plant by Hermann, Moon, Thwaites, etc. Hermann recorded that the bark was used to procure abortion.]

4. **Akraputta**

[*Anthemis Pyrethrum* L., Pellitory of Spain. Ferguson purchased "*Akrapatta*" in the bazaar, and identified it as this plant.

2. From the copy : a piece has been torn out of the original here.

3. These names are written by Hoatson, as "Genus Sinapis sp. nigra," etc. The notes enclosed in square brackets have been added in explanation of Hoatson's names.

Ainslie stated that the root was to be found in most of the Indian bazaars and gave the Sinhalese name as "*Akkaraputtu.*" It is included, as "*Accarapatta,*" in the Customs List of 1824.]

5. **Alu-kehel-alla-isma** *Musa*

["*Alu-kehel*" is the ash plantain. Moon included it as "*Alu-kesel,*" the powdered banana. The name was recorded by Hermann as "*Alu-watukaena.*"]

6. **Anasi** *Bromelia ananas*

["*Annasi*" (Clough : Willis : Moon),—Pine apple. The modern name is *Ananas sativus* Schult.].

7. **Aralu** *Terminalia chebula*

[This name was recorded for *Terminalia chebula* Retz. by Moon, Trimen, etc. Ferguson purchased the seeds under this name.]

8. **Assamodagam** *Apium petroselinum.*

[Several plants, including species wild in Ceylon, bear the name "*Assamodagam,*" with various prefixes. Moon listed seven kinds of "*Asamodagam,*" including two varieties of parsley and three of celery. Ferguson, in Pieris's list of oils, (*Jour. Asiatic Soc.*), translated "*Assemodagam*" as parsley, and Clough (p. 60) gives the same meaning. Hoatson stated that it was grown near houses, and in that case it might be parsley (*Carum Petroselinum*). But Ferguson purchased, in the Colombo bazaars, Bishop's weed seed, *Carum copticum* Benth., under this name; and Ainslie, I, p. 38, gave "*Assamodum*" as the Sinhalese name of that seed. Attygalle, on the other hand, translates "*Assamodagam*" as Caraway (p. 12). Both *Carum copticum* and Caraway would be imported articles.]

9. **Atana-kolla** *Datura stramonium*

["*Attana*" is *Datura fastuosa* L. *Datura Stramonium* is now found occasionally as a roadside weed about villages in the mountain zone.]

10. **Attika-gaha-potu**

["*Attika*" is *Ficus glomerata* Roxb.; Moon recorded it as "*Gan-attika.*"]

11. **Attiude-yan-alla**

[Moon identified "*Ati-udayan*" as *Arum minutum* Willd., i.e., *Lagenandra lancifolia* Thw. That identification was accepted by Thwaites and Trimen, though the latter noted that the name was given to more than one species. Ferguson purchased in

the bazaars roots which he took to be those of *Lagenandra lancifolia*. Ainslie (II, p. 7) recorded "*Adievedyum*" without any botanical name. It is included under the name of "*Adewoodean* (a medicinal root)" in the Customs List of Import Duties of 1824, but Hoatson did not include it in his list of imported drugs. Recently Mr. H. L. van Buuren has found that this name is applied in the Kandy District to a species of *Cryptocoryne*, while in the Galle District it is applied to *Cryptocoryne Thwaitesii* Schott. It is probable therefore that the name is given to both *Cryptocoryne* and *Lagenandra*. The same confusion occurs in India, cf. *Pharmacographia India*, Vol. III, p. 548].

12. **Badula-gaha-kiri**

["*Badulla*" is a general name for *Semecarpus*. *Semecarpus coriaceus* Thw. is the "*Badulla*" of the hills, *S. Gardneri* Thw., of the moist low-country, and *S. obscura*, of the dry low-country (Trimen). Ferguson purchased the seeds of *Semecarpus* sp., as "*Badulla-etta*."]

13. **Baebila-mool**

["*Bevila*" is a generic name for *Sida* spp. Employed without a prefix, it should be *Sida humilis* Cav. But Trimen stated that the roots and leaves of all the common species of *Sida* were used in Sinhalese medicine. Moon gave "*Baebila*" as a variant of "*Baewila*."]

14. **Baema-kiri-isma**

[*Phrynium capitatum* Willd.; the Sinhalese name is given as "*Et-bemi-kiriya*" by Moon and Trimen.]

15. **Balal-lunu**

[Clough (p. 418) translates "*Balal-lunu*" as Saltpetre, but the substance purchased under this name in the Kandy bazaar in 1862, and again in 1916, is a mixture made by fusing rock salt with the fruits of *Phyllanthus Emblica*. The method of preparation is given by Fleming, *Asiatic Researches*, XI, 153-196.]

16. **Beli-mool** *Crataeva marmelos*

[*Crataeva Marmelos* is *Aegle Marmelos* Cor., the well-known "*Beli*" or "*Bael*" fruit. Its medicinal uses were recorded by Grimm.]

17. **Bing-kohomba**

["*Binkohomba*" is *Munronia pumila* Wight; the name is recorded for the Ceylon plant by Moon, Ferguson, Trimen, etc. Trimen stated that it afforded an excellent bitter tonic and was

used in the same way as Chiretta, with which it is often confounded in Ceylon. True Chiretta does not grow in Ceylon.]

18. **Bin-tamburu-kolla** *Convolvulus pes-caprae*

[*Convolvulus pes-caprae* L., is *Ipomaea biloba* Forsk. Hermann recorded this species as "*Bin-tamburu,*" but Trimen gives it as "*Mudu-bin-tamburu,*" and cites *Ipomaea repens* L., as "*Bin-tamburu.*" According to Trimen, the roots and leaves of *Ipomaea biloba* are used in medicine.]

19. **Bo-gaha-kolla** and **kiri** *Ficus religiosa*

["*Bo*" is *Ficus religiosa* L. Hermann recorded it as "*Boghas.*"]

20. **Boulat-mool-isma** *Piper betel*

["*Boulat,*" or "*Bulat-vela,*" is *Piper Betle* L.]

21. **Bulu** *Terminalia belerica*

["*Bulu,*" *Terminalia belerica* L.]

22. **Buruta-gaha-potu** *Swietenia chloroxylon*

[*Swietenia Chloroxylon* Roxb., is *Chloroxylon Swietenia* DC., Satinwood. "*Buruta*" is the accepted name of this species.]

23. **Ciembula -kolla** *Tamarindus indicus*

[The Sinhalese name is now spelt "*Siyambala.*" The plant is *Tamarindus indica* L.]

24. **Daluc-pala** *Euphorbia antiquorum*

["*Daluk*" is *Euphorbia antiquorum* L.]

25. **Daluwe mool** *Canna indica*

[Both Moon and Trimen cite "*But-sarana*" for *Canna indica* L., and Hermann gave the same name with the spelling "*Puksarana.*" I have not found "*Daluwe*" as a plant name, except in Clough, p. 235, where "*Daluwa-mul*" is said to be the root of the long pepper plant. But one is inclined to be sceptical about these numerous names for long and other peppers, especially as long pepper is known to be substituted for other drugs.]

26. **Debera-etta** or **Masang**

[*Zizyphus Jujuba* Lam. "*Debera*" is the Sinhalese, and "*Masan*" the Portuguese name (Clough, p. 109)]

27. **Dehi-embul** Lime juice

["*Dehi*" is the Lime. But whether this refers to the common Lime, *Citrus medica* var. *acida*, or to *Citrus Hystrix* DC., known as "*Lima-dehi*" or "*Kúḍalu-dehi,*" is uncertain. According to Trimen, the latter is commonly grown in gardens.]

28. **Detalle-mool** — The roots of the Talipot and Palmyra palms taken in equal quantities has the name of "*Detalle-mool.*"

[Name not met with elsewhere.]

29. **Deve-dare** — *Fir-wood shavings*

[Hoatson stated that this was imported in the form of thick pieces of timber. Ferguson, in Pieris's list, (*Jour. Asiatic Soc.*), translated "*Deva-daare*" as *Pinus deodar*; and in his list of bazaar purchases he recorded it as Pine wood. The *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India* cites "*Deva-daru*" (Sans.; Beng.), as *Cedrus Libani* var. *Deodara*, which is evidently the plant intended.]

30. **Deve-duru** — *Anethum panmorium*

[*Anethum panmorium*, or *Foeniculum panmorium* DC., is *Foeniculum vulgare* Gærtn., Fennel; its name is given as "*Dewa dooroo*" by Waring [p. 100], and Ferguson identified the seeds which he bought under the name "*Dewa dooroo*" as this species. Clough (p. 258) explains "*Dewa-duru,*" somewhat indefinitely, as a large kind of Cummin. Seeds purchased under this name in the Kandy bazaar in 1916 were Caraway: while Fennel was supplied under the name "*Maha-duru.*"]

31. **Divi-kaduru-potu-isma** — *Cerbera manghas*

[The *Cerbera Manghas* of Linnaeus is, chiefly, *Tabernaemontana dichotoma* Roxb. The Sinhalese name, "*Divi-kaduru,*" was recorded by Moon and Trimen. The latter recorded that the wood, bark, and seeds were all used as external applications.]

32. **Diwul-latu** — A gum resembling Gum Arabic

["*Divul*" is *Feronia elephantum* Corr. The Sinhalese name was recorded, in various spellings, e.g. "*Diwul,*" "*Giwul,*" by Grimm, Hermann, Ainslie, etc.]

33. **Diyamitia-kolla**

["*Diya-mitta*" is the name given for *Cissampelos Pareira* L., by Moon, Ferguson, and Trimen. Ferguson purchased the root under that name.]

34. **Dodang-embul** — *Citrus medica*

[The names applied to Citrus fruits are employed somewhat loosely in Ceylon. "*Dodan*" is Orange, and "*Peṇi-doḍan,*" Sweet Orange. *Citrus medica* is "*Nataran,*" according to Clough

and Trimen, and "*Sidaran*," according to Moon. Moon recorded "*Dodan-aembul*" as Sour orange, but he stated that it was found in woods round Kandy. The latter statement is incorrect, and adds to the confusion, since he may have been referring to "*Dodan-kaha*" or "*Dodan-venni*," two wild species of *Memecylon*.]

35. **Dungmaele-mool**

[*Trichosanthes cucumerina* L. The correct spelling is "*Dummella*," given by Moon and Trimen. In the prescriptions Hoatson has "*Dung-aela mool*."]

36. **Dung-tel** *Buffalo ghee*

["*Dun-tel*,"—Buffalo ghee (Clough, p. 250)]

37. **Ehelle-potu** *Cassia fistula*

["*Ehela*" is *Cassia Fistula* L. The name was recorded by Hermann. Ainslie cited it, with the spelling "*Ahila*," and Moon as "*Æhaela*." Ferguson purchased the bark as "*Ehela-potu*.' Trimen recorded that the astringent bark was used as medicine.]

38. **Eleru-tel**

[Name not found elsewhere, and nothing obtainable under it in the bazaar. An error for "*Endaru-tel*"?]

39. **Elinga-tel** Cow's ghee

[Clough (p. 85) translates "*Elangi-tel*" as cow's ghee.]

40. **El-kataroolu-mool**

[*Clitoria ternatea* L. The name is usually written "*Katarodu-wel*," but Moon gave "*Rodu*" or "*Rolu*." It was recorded as "*Katarodu*" and "*Katarodu-wel*" by Hermann, Moon, Trimen, etc., "*Ela-katarodu*" and "*Nil-katarodu*" are the white and blue varieties respectively.]

41. **El-kossamba-mool** *Melia sempervirens*

[This is "*Kohomba*," *Azadirachta indica* A. Juss., but the prefix El (white or pale) is not usually applied].

42. **Ella-kiri** Cow's milk.

[Given as "*Ela-kiri*" by Clough (p. 85). Ainslie has it as "*Ella kerrie*" (I, 219)]

43. **Ella-wara** *Asclepias floribus albis*

["*Wara*" is *Calotropis gigantea* Br. Clough (p. 742) gives "*Elawara*" as a white variety of that plant. Moon listed "*El-wara*," without identification.]

44. **Elu-kiri** Goat's milk

["*Elu*" is goat (Clough). Ainslie wrote the Sinhalese term for goat's milk as "*Jloo-kerrie*" (I, p. 221)]

45. **Elumarindu**

[Hoatson stated that this was imported in small wooden boxes. The name has not been found elsewhere, and nothing can be obtained under it in the Kandy bazaar. It has been suggested that this a Tamil name for "white medicine," *i.e.*, white arsenic.]

46. **Elu moutra** Goat's urine

47. **Era-budu-potu** *Erythrina indica*

[See No. 48.]

48. **Era-mudu-dalu** *Erythrina indica*

[The Sinhalese name of *Erythrina indica* is usually given as "*Erabadu.*" I have, however, been given "*Era-mudu*" for it in the Colombo district. "*Eremudu*" occurs in Pieris's list, and is given as *Erythrina indica* by Ferguson.]

49. **Etdemate-mool**

["*Etdemata*" is *Gmelina arborea* Roxb. Trimen recorded that the bark and the fruit are used in medicine for bilious fevers.]

50. **Aethonda-kolla**

[*Heliotropium indicum* L., Ethondu. The juice is used as an external application to local inflammations (Trimen)]

51. **Gadulu-kudu** Powdered bricks

["*Gadola*,"—a brick (Clough, p. 150)].

52. **Galmadae**

[Clough (p. 157) gives "*Galmada*" as talc or gum benzoin. Ferguson, in Pieris's list, gave "*Galmade*" as talc. The substance obtained under this name in the Kandy bazaar in 1916 is crystalline Calcium Sulphate, Selenite ? (det. A. Bruce)].

53. **Galnahara**

[Clough (p. 157) gives "*Galnahara*" as gum olibanum. The substance obtained under this name in the Kandy bazaar in 1916 is a magnesium silicate, on the way to asbestos formation (det. A. Bruce)].

54. **Gam-miris-kolla** and **mool.** *Piper nigrum*

["*Gammiris-wel*" is the usual name for *Piper nigrum* L.]

55. **Ganja-kolla** *Cannabis (bung)*

["*Ganja*" is the usual term for the leaves of *Cannabis sativa* L.]

56. **Ghaetha-Kahambilia-kolla-isma** *Tragia chamaelea*

[*Tragia Chamaelea* L., is given as "*Rat-pitawakka*" by Trimen. "*Gaeta-kahambiliya*" is given by Moon for *Girardinia heterophylla* Dene., for which Trimen recorded "*Gas-kahambiliya.*" Hermann, Moon, and Trimen give "*Wael-kahambiliya*" for *Tragia involucrata*

L., which appears to be the *Tragia* most generally used. Hoatson's identification is uncertain.]

57. **Ghaetha-nitul-gaha-kiri**

["*Geta-netul*" is *Streblus asper* Lour. Moon's version is "*Gaeta-nitul.*"]

58. **Ghaetha-tomba-kolla-isma** *Phlomis zeylanica calicibus octodentatis*

["*Geta-tumba*" may be either *Leucas biflora* Br., or *L. zeylanica* Br. *Phlomis zeylanica* L. is *Leucas zeylanica* Br.; it is used in medicine.]

59. **Godamanel-alla-isma**

[*Crinum latifolium* L., given as '*Goda-manel*" by Moon and Thwaites.]

60. **Gydegan** *Sulphur lotum*

[Hoatson has the spelling "Gindegan" elsewhere. Ainslie (I, p. 411) gives "*Gendagum*" (Tamil), "*Gandaka*" (Sinh.) for Sulphur, and states that a bright shining yellow sulphur is sold in the bazaars of India under the Tamil name of "*Nellikai ghendagum.*" Clough cites "*Ghandaka,*" "*Ghandasman,*" "*Kendagan,*" and "*Gandhika*" for Sulphur].

61. **Haebe-kolla** and **potu**

[See "*Karal-haebo,*" No. 97. "*Sebo-gasa,*"—*Achyranthes aspera* L. (Clough, p. 714). "*Sebo*"—*Achyranthes aspera* (Attygalle)]

62. **Hal-dungmala-latu**

[Probably "*Hal dummala,*"—resin of the "*Hal*" tree,—*Vateria acuminata* Hayne, (Clough, p. 823). "*Dum-maella*" is a common name for *Cucurbitaceae* in Moon, but he does not give the prefix Hal.]

63. **Hapu-potu**

[*Michelia Champaca* L. The Sinhalese name is more usually given as "*Sapu.*" Clough (p. 734) has "*Hapu*"="*Sapu.*"]

64. **Hiang Dimbula** Chimney soot

[*Siyan-dumbulu,*—Soot (Clough, p. 684).]

65. **Hinete-hal-pitte** Rice flower [i.e., flour,—T.P.]

["Piti,"—meal, flour, rice-flour (Clough, p. 351). "*Hinati,*"—a species of fine paddy (Clough, p. 738). "*Heenati-ael,*"—seventy days' hill paddy (Moon)].

66. **Hinguru-pieli-alla**

[*Kaempferia Galanga* L., given as "*Hinguru-piyali*" by Hermann, Moon, and Thwaites. "*Hingum-pujali*," in Trimen, is a printer's error.]

67. **Hirial** Yellow Arsenic

["*Hiriyal*,"—yellow orpiment (Clough)].

68. **Hondel-alla** *Cissus vitigenea*

["*Hondala*" is *Modecca palmata* Linn.; root used in medicine (Trimen). Moon gives the name "*ala-hondala*." *Cissus vitigenea* L. is *Vitis Linnaei* Wall., "*Wal-niviti*."]

69. **Ibicabal** Land tortoise shell

["*Ibba*,"—Land tortoise (Clough, p. 70). "*Kabala*,"—the shell of a tortoise (Clough, p. 105)].

70. **Ikiri-mool**

[Clough cites "*Ikiri*" as *Barleria Prionitis*, colloquially "*Katukarandu*," of which Trimen states that the whole plant, and especially the root, is much used as a diuretic and tonic medicine. "*Katu-ikiri*" is given by Moon and Trimen for *Hygrophila spinosa* And., which has the same use. Hoatson's name is indeterminable.]

71. **Imbul-netti** *Gossypium arboreum*

["*Imbul*" is *Eriodendron anfractuosum* L. In the recipes Hoatson gives "*Imbul-netti*" as *Gossypium floribus purpureis*, probably *Bombax malabaricum*, usually known as "*Katu-imbul*." *Gossypium arboreum* L. is not grown in Ceylon.]

72.A **Indenu-etta**

["*Endaru*" is *Ricinus communis*. "*Indenu*" is probably an error for this.]

72.B **Inderu-tel, kolla,** and **etta** *Ricinus communis*

["*Endaru*" is the spelling given by Moon, Trimen, and Clough.]

73. **Indura-alla.**

["*Induru*" is *Susum anthelminticum* Bl.]

74. **Ingeni-etta**

["*Ingini*" is *Strychnos potatorum* L.f. Ferguson purchased the seeds as "*Ingini Etta*."]

75. **Inghuru-mool** *Amomum Zingiber*

["*Inghuru*"=ginger (Ferguson). "*Inguru*"=*Zingiber officinale*, cultivated (Moon)]

76. **Ing-sal** *Cardamum minus*

["*Ensal*" is *Elettaria Cardamomum* Maton var. *major* Sm.]

77. **Iomba-wael-kolla** and **mool** *Gaertnera racemosa*

[Moon lists "*Yohomba wael*," but does not give a Latin name. Clough gives "*Yohombu-wela*," colloquially "*Yon-tumba*," as *Borago zeylanica* or *Jasminum auriculatum*. Moon gives "*Yon-tumba*" for *Borago zeylanica*(=*Trichodesma zeylanicum* Br.). Both Trimen and Moon agree in citing "*Puwak-gediya-wael*" for *Gaertnera racemosa*(=*Hiptage Madablota* Gaertn.). Hoatson's identification would appear to be incorrect.]

78. **Iramussu-mool**

["*Iramusu*" is *Hemidesmus indicus* Br. Trimen recorded that the root is used as a tonic medicine.]

79. **Iruveria-mool**

[*Plectranthus zeylanicus* Benth., is the "*Iriweriya*" of the Sinhalese, and is grown in native gardens as a remedy for bowel complaints (Trimen)].

80. **Itta-wael-isma** *Hedera terebinthacea* (*staminibus octo*)

["*Itta-wel*" is *Heptapleurum stellatum* Vahl (*Hedera terebinthacea* Vahl)].

81. "**Jayapala** *Croton tiglium.*

["*Jayapala*" is *Croton Tiglium* L.]

82. **Kadi-bat** Rice steeped in water for three days.

["*Kadi*,"—boiled rice water in a state of spontaneous fermentation, used in the preparation of medicine (Clough, p. 115). "*Bat*" is a common term for cooked rice, e.g. "*Kiri bat*," "*Kaha bat.*"]

83. **Kaete-kaele-potu**

["*Keta-kala*" is *Bridelia retusa* Spreng.]

84. **Kaha** *Curcuma longa*

["*Kaha*" is Turmeric, *Curcuma domestica* Val. "*Harankaha*" is *Curcuma Zedoaria* Rosc., generally cultivated and used as a stomachic (Trimen)]

85. **Kahate-kolla**

["*Kahata*" is *Careya arborea* Roxb. Trimen recorded that the bark is very astringent and is much used in medicine. Moon gave "*Kahata gaha*," with the English name, "Astringent tree," but no Latin name. Hoatson in his recipes cites "*Kahate-kolla*,—Astringent leaves."]

86. **Kaipu** *Gum Catechu*

[" *Kaypu* " is the product of *Acacia Catechu*. Hoatson stated that it was a Catechu prepared from Areca.]

87. **Kalanduru-alla** *Andropogon Schoenanthus*

[" *Kalanduru* " is *Cyperus rotundus* L.; the tubers are astringent and diuretic (Trimen)]

88. **Kalenia-gaha-potu**

[" *Kelaniya* " is *Alpinia Allughas* Rosc. Trimen recorded that the rootstock is used in medicine. Moon gives " *Kaelaniya* " for *Canna indica*.]

89. **Kalu duru** Imported

[" *Kalu duru* " purchased by Ferguson, was the black seed of *Nigella sativa*. Ainslie (I, p. 128) gives " *Kaloo-dooroo* " as the Sinhalese name of the same seed. Clough calls it Black Cummin.]

90. **Kalu-habarilla-kolla-isma** *Arum macrorhizon*

[" *Kalu-habarilla* is given by Moon for *Arum macrorhizon*, now known as *Alocasia macrorhiza* Schott., " *Habarala*."]

91. **Kalu-vi** *Oryza nigra*

[" *Kalu-wee*,"—black rice, is given as a variety of *O. sativa* by Moon. I have not been able to obtain any information about this variety. There is no species, *Oryza nigra*. " *Kalu-hinate-wee* " is cited by W. C. Ondaatjee in *Observations on the Vegetable Products of Ceylon*, and there is a variety under this name in the Peradeniya Museum.]

92. **Kandul-lessa-kolla-isma**

[" *Kandulessa* " is *Drosera indica* L.]

93. **Kaparu** *Gaultheria* (uncertain)

[Thwaites gives " *Kappooroo*,"—*Gaultheria fragrantissima* Wall. Trimen gives " *Wal-Kapuru* " for this, and states that the leaves of *Limnophila conferta* Benth., have a very strong camphoraceous odour and taste, and hence the plant is sometimes called " *Kapuru* " by the Sinhalese. Ferguson obtained both camphor and *Gaultheria fragrantissima*, as " *Kapuru*," in the bazaars, and W. H. Wright bought ordinary camphor in the Kandy bazaar in 1862 under this name. Ainslie (I, p. 48) gives " *Capooroo* " as the Sinhalese name for camphor, and adds (p. 51) that the Sinhalese sometimes prepare a kind of camphor from the roots of cinnamon. Moon agrees with Trimen in giving " *Wal-Kapuru* " for *Gaultheria fragrantissima*. " *Kapuru* " is the Sinhalese for Camphor; but if a plant is indicated, it is the montane *Gaultheria fragrantissima*;

Hoatson's informants were within easy reach of this plant on Namunukula. Camphor is included in the Ceylon Customs List of 1824.]

94. **Kapettye-mool-and potu** *Croton lacciferum*

["*Keppitiya*" is *Croton aromaticus* var. *lacciferus* Trimen.]

95. **Kapu-Kaenissa-dalu**

["*Kapu-kinissa*,"-*Hibiscus Abelmoschus* L. and *H.angulosus* Mast. according to Trimen. For *Hibiscus Abelmoschus*, Moon gives "*Kapu Kinissa*," and Ainslie, (II.,72), "*Kapu Kinaissa*."]

96. **Kapu Kolla** *Gossypium herbaceum*

[Moon cites "*Kapu*,"-cotton, with six species; of which "*Sinhala Kapu*" is *Gossypium indicum*, "*Rata Kapu*," *G. barbadense*, and "*Cheena Kapu*," *G. religiosum*. The last species is *Cochlospermum Gossypium* DC.]

97. **Karal-haebo-gaha-kolla** and **mool**

["*Karal-sebo*" is given by Clough (p.108) for *Achyranthes aspera* L. Trimen gives "*Gas-karal-heba*," and Moon, "*Gas-karal-haebo*," for the same species. "*Bin-karal-haebo*," according to Moon and Trimen, is *Cyathula prostrata* Bl.; and "*Wael-karal-haebo*," "*Wael-karal-heba*," are given by them respectively for *Pupalia atropurpurea* Moq. Both *Achyranthes aspera* and *Cyathula prostrata* are used in Sinhalese medicine, and Hoatson's name is indeterminable.]

98. "**Karambu**" *Caryophillus aromaticum*

[Imported in boxes (Hoatson). Ferguson gives "*Kraha*" and "*Karaboo*" as the names employed for cloves in the bazaars. Moon cites "*Karabu-gaha*" as the clove tree, *Caryophyllus aromaticus*. Clough gives, for cloves, "*Karabu*" (p. 570), and "*Kamaru*" (p. 775). The modern scientific name is *Eugenia caryophyllata* Thunb.]

99. **Karanda-isma** *Dalbergia arborea*

[*Dalbergia arborea* Willd. is *Pongamia glabra* Vent., for which the usual name is "*Magul-karanda*." Clough (p.108) cites "*Karanda*" alone for the same plant.]

100. **Karavilla-kolla-isma.**

["*Karavila*" is *Momordica Charantia* L.]

101. **Kaudu-bogaha-potu** *Ficus religiosa*,

["*Kaudu-bo*" is *Ficus Arnottiana* Miq.]

102. **Kelinda-etta**

["*Kellinda sal*," purchased by Ferguson, was the seed of *Wrightia zeylanica* Br. Trimen, in *Flora of Ceylon*, states that the

bark of *Holarrhena mitis* Br. is sold in Ceylon under the name "*Kalinda.*" For the confusion between *Wrightia zeylanica* and *Holarrhena antidysenterica*, see *Dictionary of Economic Products of India*; the latter is medicinal, the former inert, but used as an adulterant of the latter.

H. antidysenterica is not wild in Ceylon, and *Wrightia zeylanica* is probably substituted for it. Hoatson gives "*Kelinda etta*" as an imported drug, but it does not appear under that name in the Table of the Duties of Customs on Goods in the *Ceylon Almanac* of 1824. Attygalle cites "*Kelinde*" as *Holarrhena antidysenterica*, in which case it must be an imported article.]

103. **Khadumberia-gaha-potu**

["*Kadumberiya*" is *Diospyros Gardneri* Thw.]

104. **Khaduria-gedi-waal-watheru**

["*Kaduru ketiya wel*" is *Combretum ovalifolium* Roxb. I have not met with the combination cited by Hoatson. Moon gives "*Gediya waela*" as fruit creeper, but does not list the prefix, "*Kaduria.*"]

105. **Khatu-carosan** Imported

[Clough, p. 770, gives "*Katukarosana*" as *Ipomaea tridentata* Roth., a species common in Ceylon, and not recorded as medicinal. "*Pita-Karosana*" is the bazaar name for *Coptis Teeta* Wall.. Ferguson gives "*Katukaroseni*" as a bazaar version of "*Katukarohine,*" (see No, 106.) I have not been able to obtain "*Khatu-carosan*" in the bazaar.]

106. **Khatukarohine** Imported

[Imported in bags, a root (Hoatson). "*Katukarosene*" was purchased by Ferguson and identified by him as the root of *Helleborus niger.* "*Katurohini*" (Sans.), "*Kadagaroganie*" (Tamil) was cited by Ainslie (I,p. 164), doubtfully, as *Helleborus niger* L. In a discussion of this name in *Dictionary of Economic Products of India* (1900) under *Helleborus*, it is stated that *Helleborus niger* is not found wild in India, and is not found in the bazaars, *Picrorhiza Kurrooa* being substituted for it; and in *Commercial Products of India* (1908), the latter is taken as the source of "*Katukarohini.*" "*Cudohoragany* (Black hellebore root)" appears in the *Ceylon Customs List* of 1824.]

107. **Khatu-rulu-mool**

[*Clitoria ternatea*: (see No. 40)].

108. **Khatu-wael-battu**

["*Katu-wel-batu*" is *Solanum xanthocarpum* var. b. *Jacquini* Thw. Trimen stated that the root is a valued Sinhalese medicine in fever, coughs, and indigestion.]

109. **Khohumba-tel**

[Margosa oil. See "*El-kossamba*," No. 41.]

110. **Khokum-potu**

["*Kokum*" is *Kokoona zeylanica* Thw. "*Kokum potu*," purchased by Ferguson, was identified by him as the yellow bark of *Kokoona zeylanica* Thw.]

111. **Kotadimbula-gaha, potu, kiri** and **dalu**

["*Kota dimbula*" is *Ficus hispida* L.f.]

112. **Khotamalee** *Coriandrum sativum*

["*Kottamallee*" and "*Kotamalie*" are given by Ferguson for Coriander seed. Moon gave "*Kotamalli*" or "*Kotamburu*." Ainslie (I, p. 91) recorded "*Cottamillie*" (Tamil), "*Cotumbaroo*" (Sinh.) for Coriander seed.]

113. **Khotang-alla**

[Imported in bags: root cut into slices and dried (Hoatson). Ferguson purchased "*Kottang*" or "*Kottan*" in the bazaars, and identified it correctly as *Auklandia costus*. This is Costus root, but it is not obtained from a species of *Costus*, as given in Clough ("*Kottan*"=*Costus speciosus*, p. 133), but from *Saussurea Lappa* C.B.C. (=*Auklandia costus* Falc.) "The root is dug up in September and October, chopped up into pieces two to six inches long, and exported without further preparation," *Dictionary of Economic Products of India*.]

114. **Kikirinde-kolla-isma**

["*Kikirindi*" is *Eclipta alba* Hassk. Trimen recorded that it is employed as an alterative medicine by the Sinhalese. Moon gave *Eclipta alba* as "*Sudu kirindi*."]

115. **Kinda wael** *Menispermum cordifolium*

[See No. 116.]

116. **Kinda-wael mool** *Menispermum cordifolium*

[*Menispermum cordifolium*, now *Tinospora cordifolia* Miers, is "*Rasakinda*." *T. crispa* Miers is "*Tittakinda*," and, *fide* Trimen, is considered a valuable tonic medicine and febrifuge. Thwaites (Enum; p. 12) states that an infusion of the young stems of *T. cordifolia* is used in medicine: he calls it "*Rasa-kinda*," but does not distinguish *T. crispa*. Hoatson's species is probably *T. Crispa*.]

117. **Kinihiria-kolla**

[" *Kinihiriya* " is *Cochlospermum Gossypium* DC.]

118A. **Kiri-kandi**

[" *Kiri-henda* " is *Celosia argentea* L.]

118B. **Kitul-rha** *Palmae caryota*

[" *Kitul* " toddy, from *Caryota urens* L.]

119. **Kolang-kolla** *Ocymum basilicum*

[Trimen in *Hort. Zeylanicus* gives " *Kollan-kola* " = *Pogostemon Heyneanus* Benth., but in the *Flora* he cites " *Gan-kollan-kola* " for this, as does Moon. *Ocimum basilicum* L. is " *Suvandu tala.*"]

120. **Komarika-isma** *Aloes perfoliata*

[Moon gave " *Komarika* " as *Aloe vulgaris*, and stated that it was cultivated in Ceylon. But the common Aloe in Ceylon is *Aloe vera* L. var *littoralis* Koen. A note by Ferguson in his copy of Ainslie, states, "The fresh leaves are thus used (*i.e.* in ophthalmia); and hence the plants are commonly grown by Moors at Galle and elsewhere." Ainslie (I, pp. 9, 10) states " There is another sort of aloes, common in the Indian bazaars:....It is brought from Yemen in Arabia.... and is, in all probability, obtained from the *Aloe perfoliata* L." This may be the source of Hoatson's name.]

121. **Korasani** Imported

[Imported in bags, a small seed (Hoatson). " *Korosanie* " seed,—Henbane (Ferguson). " *Korassanie* " (Sinh.),—Henbane seed, *Hyoscyamus niger* (Ainslie, I, 167). *Dictionary of Economic Products of India* gives various combinations and spellings of " *Korasani* " for Henbane, *Hyoscyamus niger* L.]

122 **Kossamba-mool, dalu, neti** and **kuru** *Melia sempervirens*

[" *Kosamba* " = " *Kohomba* " (Clough, p. 137). " *Kohomba* " is *Azadirachta indica*; see " *El-kossomba*," No. 41.]

123. **Kukurumang-gedi-potu-**, and **mada**

[" *Kukuruman* " is *Randia dumetorum* Lam.]

124. **Kumburu-etta-mada.**

[" *Kumburu wel* " is *Caesalpinia Bonduc* Roxb. Ferguson purchased the seeds as " *Kumburu-etta.*"]

125. **Kunu-maele-dalu** *Bauhinia floribus albis*

[Moon cites " *Kunu maella*," but no Latin name. Trimen gives " *Kunumella* " as *Diospyros ovalifolia* Roxb. *Bauhinia racemosa* Lam. is " *Mayila.*"]

126. **Kura-kolla** and **mool**

[Moon cites four species of "*Koora*," two of which are the same, while the other two were not identified by him. According to Trimen and Moon, "*Gal-kura*" is *Melochia corchorifolia* L., but no medicinal use is recorded for this in Ceylon and India. Probably "*Kara*," *Canthium parviflorum* Lam., is meant; the leaves and roots of this are used medicinally. But "*Kura*" (Hind.) is *Holarrhena antidysenterica* Wall.]

127. **Kurundu-potu** *Laurus cinnamomum*

["*Kurundu*" is *Cinnamomum zeylanicum* Bl. (*Laurus Cinnamomum* L.)]

(*To be continued*)



Notes & Queries.

NORTHERN PROVINCE NOTES.

By J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired).

Mikamam and Vedi Arasan.

THERE is a tradition about these two kings at Mullaittivu :— "Kannakai Amman, daughter of the Pándiya Rasa, was put when a child, owing to the sayings of the soothsayers, in a box and sent down the river Kankai. Two chetties, Manakar and Masattar, of Pándiya-tésam rescued her. The first adopted her and she married Kovalan, son of the second.

Mikamam, *Senadhipada* or general of the Pandyans, was sent to Ilankai (Ceylon) to bring the *maha rattnam* which was in Nayinattivu for her anklets (*selampu*). Mikamam came over in a ship, and fought and captured Vedi Arasan, king of the Mukkavar, who had forts at Uvatturai (Kayts), Kangesanturai and Kirimalai. The people who cultivated Vedi Arasan's *chenas* were called Mukkuvar. They went to Trincomalee and Batticaloa.

Kannakai is worshipped at Vattapalai as Káli Tévi.

There are two ruined forts on Delft Island, one of which is assigned by tradition to Mikamam and the other to Vedi Arasan, but the former is unmistakably Portuguese.

The story of a fight between "Manakar" (not Mikamam), King of the Karaiyar people, and Vedi Arasan, King of the Mukkuvar, is found in the Puttalam District, but according to it Manakan or Manikkar (I an not certain which is correct) was defeated in this fight. Mr. H. W. Codrington asks: "Can Mikamam be connected in any way with the Kovviyar (?) stronghold Negombo (Migamuwa) ? The Sinhalese is the same as the Tamil word or *vice versa*."

PARÁKRAMA BÁHU THE GREAT AND HIS CAMPAIGNS.[1]

By D. JAYARATNA.

THE *Mahávansa* is full of references to places not yet identified. The Pali names having, during the course of many centuries, undergone change in form and meaning, identification is a matter of some difficulty; but by carefully sifting the tradition and folklore of various villages, and by following up the evolutionary changes in the names of places, it is possible to fix their identity with some certainty. As a native of the Southern Province, the writer has been interested in the names of villages of this Province, and the following is an investigation into place-names of the campaigns of Parákrama Báhu the Great, particularly those in S. W. Ruhuna.

As a military genius Parákrama Báhu the Great had few equals. Skilled in sound strategy, having an extensive knowledge of the country, and with campaigns well planned, he embarked upon a war with one objective, viz, to bring the whole Island under one rule.

Parákrama Báhu's "valiant men who were nigh unto the River Sakkharalaya crossed the bridge there, entered the Grove Sakkunda, and straightway fought a battle and put an end to the lives of many men, and brake the spirit of the enemy."[2]

Akuralganga (*River Sakkharalaya*) mentioned in the *Mahávansa* (Ch. 71. v. 61) is now entirely lost. **Akurala** (lit. "locality of pebbles, stones"), a maritime village 56 miles from Colombo on the Galle Road, was so named on account of the vast quantity of coral (lime) stones found at the place. The river must have received its name from the village where it entered the sea. The riverine shells, etc., found in the coral diggings, and the composition of the soil in some parts of Akurala and its neighbourhood, testify to the former existence of a river.

A paper with details on this lost river and its forgotten fords is in preparation.

[This note was received early last year. The delay in publishing it is regretted.—ED. *C.A. & L.R.*]

2. "*Mahávansa*": Chap. LXXII, vv 61 and 62.

Sakkunda Grove,[3]—where an ancient military academy, guard-house or barracks[4] stood,—is now called *Hikkaduwa*. (*Odoka* of Ptolemy).[5] The military posts or fords on the above river were many, some of which the writer has been able to identify.

The places or fords are given below with their modern names :

(*a*) **Sarogama** (*saro* "tank," *gama* "village"); **Willigama** (? Wilgama)

(*b*) **Mahárukkha** (*Maha*="big," *Rukha*="tree"; **Maharuppe** (*Maha*="vast," *ruppe*="meadow")

(*c*) **Heddillakada** (Sin : *Hedilikada*); **Sadduruqoda** (Sadduru, Suduru, Kshudra, *goda* "land.")

(*d*) **Assamandala** (*Assa* "Horse," *Mandala* "Stable"); **Usmuduláwa.**

(*e*) **Yakkha Sukhara** (Sin : *Yak Ura*); **Urawatta** (saline or hog garden)

(*f*) **Vehara Vejja Sálá** (*Vehera vedahala*); **Weheragoda**(*Wehera*= "temple," *Goda*="village")

(*g*) **Chulla Naga** (Sin : *Sulu né*) Haranágala

(*h*) **Puná**; **Ponaduwa** (*Pona* "Stony," *dúwa* "Islet.")

(*i*) **Nilagiri** (*Nila*="blue," *giri*="rock"); **Nilapanátuduwa** (*Nila* "blue," *paná* "rock," *tuduwa* "point").

(*j*) **Nálikerawatthu**; **Polwatta** (*Pol*="Coconut," *Watta*= "estate")

Other places like Kammaragáma, Mahapanálagáma, Bódhiwatta, Mahánágakula, and Mahágama are no doubt the modern Kamburugamuwa, Mahapalána, Hatbódhiwatta, Naimana, and Mágama in Matara and Hambantota Districts.

It will be of great help to students of Sinhalese History if the able editors of the proposed *Ceylon Historical Gazetteer* will devote a chapter to the identification of ancient towns, places, etc., in the historical annals of the Island.

3. Hikkaduwa was named Sakkunda owing to its abundance of chanks (even at the present day waves bring to the shore a vast quantity of chanks, shells, etc., at this place.) The *Kokila Sandesa* (v. 76) speaks of damsels at Totagamuwa using chanks as toys.

4. The *Kokila Sandesa* (v. 75) mentions that some soldiers were on guard here with long swords; thus Hikkaduwa may have been a place of strategic importance.

5. *Ptolemy's Ancient India* by Mac Crindle, p. 258.

KAPPAKANDARA AND DIGHAVAPI.

By THE LATE MR. E. R. AYRTON.

(*Archaeological Commissioner of Ceylon.*)

THE **Wanderúpa Vihára** is situated about a mile due south of Ambalantota, on the east side of Wellawe-ganga, in the Southern Province.

Its old name is the **Kappakandara Vihára**. It is said to have been founded by Mahánáma, but there was apparently a monastery here, since the *Rasaváhini* mentions a Theraputtábhaya who had a struggle with Gothaimbara, one of Dutugemunu's heroes, and forced him to worship him. Hence the modern name *Wanda*= "worship," *rúpa*="garden" (?)

The claim of the Wanderúpa Vihára to be the *Kappakandara Vihára* opens up the whole question of the position of Díghavápi.

Mahávansa, xxiii. 64: One of Dutugemunu's heroes, Bharana, came from the village of Kappakandara.

Rasaváhini, II.88[11]. 94.[12]: Kappakandara Vihára is mentioned.

Mahávansa xxiv: After Tissa had buried his father at Tissa-mahárama, he returned to Díghavápi. Dutugemunu from Malaya asked Tissa to return the insignia. Tissa refused. Dutugemunu at once went to Guttahála, put outposts there, and then went and was crowned in Mágama. He then attacked Tissa, and there was a great fight at Cúlanganiya-piṭṭhi in which Tissa was victorious. Dutugemunu flees and, after crossing the Javamála ford of the river Kappakandara, he eats and gives food to a monk from Piyangudípa. He then goes on to Mahágama..

Geiger considers that the *Kappakandara-nádi* is the Kumbukkan Oya, and places the Javamála ford near the village Kumbukkan. He considers that Dutugemunu fortified Buttala against Tissa at Díghavápi, since he places the tank with Parker.

Parker (*Ancient Ceylon*, p. 396) places it at Kandiya-kattu—now forest, but once capable of irrigating 10,000 to 20,000 acres of rice fields—30 miles S.S.W. from Batticaloa.

Geiger's identification of the *Kappakandara*=Kumbukkan River, cannot be accepted, since in *Mahávansa* xxxiv. 90. we read

that Mahanága (66—78 A.D.) founded the Samudda Vihára on the bank of the *Kubukanda River*, and this is obviously the Kumbukkan River. The Kirinde River is certainly the *Karinda-nádi* (cf *Mah.* xxxii. 14).

Of big rivers there only remain the Kattragam or Menik-ganga and the Wellawe Ganga.

On the evidence of the old name of the Wanderúpa Vihára, I would suggest *Wellawe=Kappakandara-nádi*. We find one mile to west of Diyagastota on this river a tank called *Dik-veva* (which suggests *Dighavápi*), and the *Javamála* ford would thus be *Diyagastota*.

In this case the guarding of Buttala by Dutugemunu would be to keep the Tamils in check whilst he fought his brother.

SOME SINHALESE SAYINGS:

Their Origin in Story.

By JOHN M. SENAVERATNA, F.R.H.S.

FEW people nowadays know anything of the origin of some of our most popular sayings and proverbs, and for this reason the following may prove of general interest and also provide amusing reading :—

" Eight Brinjals, but Nine Taxes."

The phrase has reference to that most abused of all Government servants, the Village Headman.

The story goes that a certain man took eight brinjals for sale to a village where there were nine Headmen. He returned home empty-handed and in utter disappointment. Questioned by his wife the poor man replied: "I had to give eight of the Headmen a brinjal apiece, and to the ninth my basket, in order to obtain permission to enter the village."

Which explains why the Sinhalese also say that " *It is good to be a Headman even in Hell.*"

" Like the Blind man's description of the Elephant."

There were four blind men in a village not far from Kandy. They had often heard of the elephant and one day, wishing to find

out for themselves, by feeling, what exactly the elephant was like, had the village Headman's animal led up to them.

No. 1, who touched the leg, said the elephant was like a rice-pounder ;

No. 2, who touched the trunk, said the elephant was like the stem of a *Papaw* tree.

No. 3, who touched the ear, said the elephant was like a Bamboo tray, while

No. 4, who touched the tail, said the elephant was like a dried coconut flower (*bu-valla*).

At any rate this is better than the famous description—was it not in a Dictionary—of a lobster as "a scarlet fish that walks backwards." The definition was all right except for these trifling circumstances—that the lobster is not a fish, neither is it scarlet, nor does it walk backwards.

Talking of blind men, one is reminded of

" The Description of Curd given to a Blind man."

" Would you like some curd to eat ?" asked a certain person of a man who was born blind.

" What is curd like ?" queried the blind man.

" It is white " replied the other.

" What is white like ?" questioned the blind man again.

" It is like a conch-shell " was the reply.

" What is a conch-shell like ?"

" It is like the kernel of a coconut."

" What is a coconut like ?"

" It is like a crane."

" What is a crane like ?" was the next question.

The other bent his hand into the shape of a crane and asked the blind man to feel it.

The blind man felt the hand and said :

" Oh, after all, curd is exactly like the hand."

From the blind to the deaf is an easy transition, and the

" Story of the Four Deaf Persons "

is the source of one at least of the most caustic of Sinhalese proverbs.

The story runs that in a certain family of Kotte, near Colombo, the father and the mother were both deaf, as well as their son and daughter-in-law..

On one occasion, when the wife went with the old man's breakfast into the paddy field, the old man asked where their son was.

"It is no fault of mine. It is the daughter-in-law that delayed cooking" replied the old woman, who presumed the old man had complained of the delay.

On returning home she told her daughter-in-law, who then happened to be spinning, that the old man had blamed her for being late.

The daughter-in-law, thinking that her mother-in-law found fault with her spinning, said :

"I spin as best as I can."

When, however, the daughter-in-law told her own husband, who was then warming himself near the fire-place, that her spinning had been found fault with, he swore by all the gods that he had not roasted a single potato.

It is like the story of the person who, on being asked where he was going, said he had coconuts in his bag.

Another pungent proverb has reference to the story of

The man who took "Pan-Sil."

First of all, *Pan-sil*, in Buddhism, means the five precepts which forbid lying, stealing, drinking, killing and adultery.

A certain woman, on her return from the Temple after taking *Pan-sil*, asked her husband why he too did not take *Pan-sil*.

"I do not know how to do it," said the husband.

"What you have to do," said the wife, "when you go to the Temple, is to repeat after the priest whatever he tells you."

The husband accordingly went to the Temple.

The priest, on seeing the man, asked him :

"Hallo, man, where are you going ?"

"Hallo, man, where are you going ?" repeated the simpleton.

"Are you mad ?" said the priest.

"Are you mad ?" rejoined the man.

The priest, who had now become very angry, ordered his attendants : "Give that fellow a sound thrashing."

"Give that fellow a sound thrashing," repeated the man.

But the priest's attendants belaboured the man and gave him the soundest thrashing he had had in all his life.

On returning home he told his wife :

" Upon my word, dear, I am surprised you look so healthy after taking *Pan-sil* so often, whereas I have caught fever by taking it only once."

If the above is an illustration of unconscious ill-treatment of a husband by his wife, the

" Story of the Brim round the Neck "

is an example of conscious, wilful ill-treatment which has given rise to another very popular Sinhalese proverb.

A certain man, being unable to endure the ill-treatment he was daily subjected to by his wife, went to a distant part of the country in search of a friend of his, with the object of relating to him his troubles.

When the two friends were talking together, the wife of the latter came in in a rage and struck his head with a chatty, the brim of which fell round the husband's neck.

The unfortunate man, turning to his visitor-friend, asked him if he had seen similar things in his part of the country.

" Assaults are common enough in our parts, too, but it is only today that I saw the brim fall round the neck."

" Frying the Honour."

" *Like one stirring up the honour in an old pan* " is a saying which had its origin in this wise :

The parents, who had given their daughter in marriage to a poor man on account of his high birth, paid a visit to the daughter some time after the marriage.

The daughter had nothing in the house to offer her parents to eat ; so, in a fit of rage, she went and placed an old pan over a fire in the kitchen and made show as if she were stirring up the contents.

" What are you doing, dear ? " asked the old pair.

" I am trying to fry the honour you got for me," was her reply.

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" Like the Wisdom of Maha-denamutta "

is another popular saying which originated in the following manner :—

A certain man, whose calf had put its head into a pot, consulted Maha-denamutta (who was proverbial for his " wisdom ") as to

what means should be adopted in order to take the calf's head out without any injury either to it or to the pot.

The Sage mounted his elephant and rode in the direction of the man's house. In order thus to enter the garden, he had to get a wall broken down and a house, too, to gain the inner compound where the calf was.

Then he ordered the calf's neck to be cut asunder and, after breaking the pot, he took the head out and gave it to the owner, saying :" How on earth will you get on when I am dead and gone !"

" Like the gift of the horse to Kaluhamy "

has its origin in a very amusing story which runs as follows :—

Once upon a time, in a certain village, there lived a *Gamarála* and his wife, whose only child was a daughter named Kaluhamy. It happened that this daughter, when about 16 or 17 years old, died suddenly, to the great sorrow of her parents.

Soon after her death a lean beggar came to the house at a time when the *Gamarála* was away. The still sorrowing mother of Kaluhamy, pitying the wretched condition of the beggar, asked him how he had become so lean.

" I have just returned from the other world " replied the beggar, meaning by that of course that he had only recently recovered from a dangerous illness.

The foolish mother, taking the beggar's reply literally, asked him whether he had seen Kaluhamy there (i.e. in that world).

The beggar, seeing that the woman was a simpleton, sought to take advantage of the fact and, in reply to her question, said :

" It is I who married her in the other world."

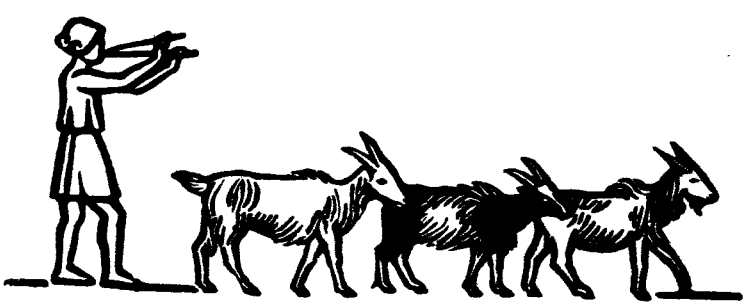
Kaluhamy's mother, on hearing this, affectionately embraced the beggar as her son-in-law, and gave him all the jewels and silks and other clothing that were in the house, to be taken to the other world for the use of Kaluhamy and her husband.

Shortly after the beggar had gone away, the *Gamarála* returned home. The wife then related to him what had happened during his absence. The *Gamarála* was highly incensed at what he heard. After severely rebuking the wife for her folly, he mounted his horse and rode off in the same direction in which the beggar had gone, his object being to capture the rogue.

The beggar, on seeing the *Gamarála* at a distance, hastily clambered up a tree. The *Gamarála*, too, came up to the tree and, tying his horse at the foot, began climbing up. The beggar, however, getting down by a branch, untied the horse and rode off on it as fast as possible.

The unfortunate *Gamarála*, who was still on the tree, finding that nothing could be done and making a virtue of necessity, shouted out to the beggar :

" Son-in-law, tell Kaluhamy that the jewels and clothes are from the mother, but that the horse is from me."



Literary Register.

IN CEYLON A CENTURY AGO

The Proceedings of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society.

WITH NOTES BY T. PETCH.

(*Continued from Vol. VIII., Page 182*)

1822.

AT the annual general Meeting held at Colombo on Tuesday, the 15th January, 1822.

Present.—

His Excellency the Lieut.-Governor, President
The Hon'ble the Chief Justice
The Hon'ble the Puisne Justice
The Hon'ble J. W. Carrington Esqr.
The Hon'ble and Ven'ble the Archdeacon
Dr. Farrell
} Vice Presidents.

John Deane Esqre.	Lieut. Col. Wright
Wm. Granville Esqr.	Lieut. Col. Walker
Lieut. Gascoyne	Professor Rosk[24]
The Revd. J. M. S. Glenie	The Revd. H. de Saram
The Revd. B. Clough	

Geo. Turnour, Esqre., Sec.

The President in the Chair.

The Secretary reads the Proceedings of the last General Meeting.

The Chief Justice states to the Meeting that in consequence of Mr. Turnour's removal from Colombo it has become necessary to appoint another Secretary to this Society; and proposes Lieut. Gascoyne for that office, which is unanimously agreed to.

On the Motion of Sir Hardinge Giffard it is resolved that the thanks of this Society be presented to George Turnour Esqre., for

24. His name appears to have been Rask.

his very zealous and able discharge of the duties of Secretary to this Society.

Import of Seeds.

The Secretary lays before the Meeting a letter from Messrs. Arbuthnot & Co., wherein those Gentlemen readily consent to procure Garden Seeds from Bangalore and Hyderabad, as suggested by the Sub-Committee of Agriculture; and offer their Services to the Society in any other way they can be of use to it.

Ordered that a notification be inserted in the *Ceylon Gazette* in regard to these seeds, as was done respecting the English and Cape Seeds, and that the Letter of Messrs. Arbuthnot & Co. be answered in forwarding the applications that may be received to Madras.

[Advts. of the English and Cape Seeds appeared in the *Gazette* of Nov. 17th 1821, and of the Bangalore and Hyderabad seeds in the *Gazette* in January, 1822.]

Rock Fish.

A letter from J. W. Bennett, Esqre., is read, transmitting a sketch of a species of Rock Fish.

Ordered that the thanks of the Society be given to Mr. Bennett for his communication, and that it be referred to the Sub-Committee of Natural History for the investigation of the Genus and Species.

Import of Seeds.

The Secretary reports that the first Commission for Cape and English seeds was sent home by the Princess Charlotte, and he is requested to send duplicates of the Applications by the next Ship.

A Statement of the Funds of the Society is laid before the Meeting by the Treasurer.

The Society proceeds to ballot for the election of the General Committee of the current Year, and the following Gentlemen having the majority of votes are declared Members thereof.

John Deane, Esqre.	Major Delatre
Lieut. Col. Walker	The Revd. B. Fox
Wm. Granville Esqre.	Alex. Moon Esqre.
Geo. Lusignan Esqre.	The Revd. B. Clough
The Revd. A. Armour	The Revd. H. De Saram
H. A. Marshall Esqre.	The Revd. J. Glenie
Captain Schneider	J. G. Forbes, Esqre.

John Walbeoff Esqre.

Resolved that a Meeting of the General Committee be held on Monday next, in order that the Gentlemen composing it may divide themselves into the Three Sub-Committees of Natural History and Agriculture, Geology, Mineralogy, and Geography, and Civil History, Languages and Antiquities.

Change of Title.

On the Motion of the Hon'ble the Chief Justice, It is resolved that the Society be in future styled the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society.[25]

Adjourned to Friday the 15th February next at 11 A.M.

Proceedings of the General Committee held on Monday the 21st January, at the Vice Admiralty Chambers.

Present.—

H. A. Marshall Esqre.	Revd. B. Clough
W. Granville Esqre.	Revd. W. B. Fox
Revd. J. Glenie	Capt. Schneider
Revd. A. Armour	Lieut. Gascoyne, Secretary.

The Committee proceeds to divide itself into Sub-Committees as follows,—

Sub-Committee of Natural History and Agriculture.

J. H. D. Saram	Lieut. Colonel Walker
Alex. Moon	John Deane

James Glenie

Sub-Committee of Geology, Mineralogy and Geography.

G. Schneider	H. A. Marshall
W. B. Fox	Major Delatre

J. G. Forbes

Sub-Committee of Civil History, Languages, and Antiquities.

Geo. Lusignan	B. Clough
W. Granville	A. Armour

John Walbeoff

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Friday, the 15th February, 1822.

25. The notice of the meeting in the *Gazette* states, "It was resolved that as the improvement of agriculture was one of the principal objects had in view in the formation of the Society, it should in future be called the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society."

Present.—

Major Genl. Sir Edward Barnes, K.C.B., President
The Hon'ble the Chief Justice
The Hon'ble and Ven'ble the Archdeacon } Vice Presidents
Dr. Farrell

Revd. J. M. S. Glenie — Revd. A. Armour
Revd. B. Clough — J. H. Reckerman Esq.

Lieut. Gascoyne, Secretary

The Secretary reads the Proceedings of the last General Meeting.

Indo-Roman Orthography.

A paper from Professor Rask on a new system of Indo-Roman Orthography is laid before the Society.

Ordered that the thanks of the Society be communicated to the Professor for his very obliging communication, and that the Paper be referred to the Sub-Committee of Civil History, Languages, and Antiquities for their Report.

[See *Ceylon Literary Register*, II (1887), pp. 111, 112; 119, 120; 125-128]

Import of Seeds.

The Secretary having reported that a supply of Bangalore seeds have been forwarded to Colombo in the Brig Lion by Messrs Arbuthnot & Co., and may be shortly expected,

Ordered that the Secretary do receive the seeds on arrival and distribute them as far as the supply will admit according to the applications, and that he do communicate the thanks of the Society to Messrs. Arbuthnot & Co., in acknowledging the Receipt of it.

Instructions for Collectors.

A copy of Professor Jannison's Instructions[26] for collecting and preparing Objects of Natural History, etc., is laid before the Society.

Ordered that Two hundred Copies be printed, and that the Paper be then referred to the Sub-Committee of Civil History, Languages, and Antiquities with the request of the Society that they would undertake its Translation into Cingalese.

26. ? Jamieson, a well-known geologist.

Sir Edward Barnes proposes as an object most beneficial to the Interests of the Society that His Excellency the Governor be invited to become the Patron of the Institution, which Resolution is unanimously adopted, and Sir Edward Barnes is requested to convey the wishes of the Society to His Excellency.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Friday the 15th day of March, 1822.

Present.—

His Excellency the Governor. Patron
Hon'ble Major Gen. Sir Edward Barnes. President
Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard
Hon'ble & Ven'ble The Archdeacon } Vice Presidents

Dr Farrell	J. Wallbeoff Esqre.
J Deane Esqre.	J. H. Reckerman Esqre.
Revd. A. Armour	Revd. B. Clough
A. Moon Esqre.	Lieut. Gascoyne Secy.

His Excellency the Governor having been pleased to accede to the wishes of the Society in becoming the Patron of the Institution, takes the Chair, at the same time returning his thanks for the Society's Invitation, and expressing his desire to promote and encourage its views and welfare.

Sir Hardinge Giffard moves that the following resolution, expressive of the gratitude of the Society to its late Patron, Lieut. Governor Sir Edward Barnes be passed, and entered on the Proceedings. The Motion is seconded by the Hon'ble and Venerable The Archdeacon and unanimously adopted.

Resolved, that the zeal and energy with which many works of public improvement in this Island have been promoted and executed by the late Lieutenant Governor, the Hon'ble Sir Edward Barnes, have entitled him to the lasting gratitude of the inhabitants of Ceylon.

That his constant attention to the formation and encouragement of this Society and the objects for which it has been instituted, demands our warmest acknowledgements, and that he be requested to accept our thanks for the patronage and protection we have experienced from him during his Government.

Sir Edward Barnes returns thanks.

The Proceedings of the last General Meeting are read.

Water Melon.

The Hon'ble and Ven'ble the Archdeacon presents a Water Melon of uncommon Magnitude, grown near Colombo; its weight and dimensions are as follows.

A Water Melon (*Cucurbita Citrullus*), sent to Doctor Twisleton by Mr. Ferdinand, a medical person in the pettah, in order to be presented to the Literary Society of Colombo.

Length		Inches $17\frac{5}{8}$
Circumference	breadth	28
	length	44
Weight		27 lbs. and $\frac{1}{2}$

It grew in sandy soil near the river at Pasbetal.

Corals.

Sir Hardinge Giffard presents a fine specimen of Branch Coral brought up by the nets of the Fisherman opposite his Residence at Tanki Salgado, also two smaller specimens of the same Nature, found near Amblangodde.

Ordered that the copies of Professor Jannison's Instructions for preserving specimens of Natural History be sent round to all the Members of the Society.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Tuesday, the 16th April, 1822.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard
The Hon'ble and Ven'ble the Archdeacon
Dr. Farrell
John Deane Esqr. William Granville Esqr.
John Witchurch Bennett, Esqr.
Lieut. T. B. Gascoyne Secretary.

The Proceedings of the last General Meeting are read.

Birds and Insects.

A Letter from A. Armstrong, Esqr., Surgeon 1st Ceylon Regt., transmitted with a Collection of prepared Birds and Insects is read and the Specimens exhibited.

The Secretary is requested to express the thanks of the Society to Mr. Armstrong for his Donation and to enter the List of the Benefaction on the Records of this Society.

Cheetah.

The skin of a Young Male Chetah presented by T. R. Backhouse Esqr. is exhibited.

The Secretary is also directed in this instance to communicate the thanks of the Society to Mr. Backhouse and to record his Donation.

Import of Seeds.

A Letter from the House of Messrs Arbuthnot & Co., Madras, transmitted with a packet of Cape Knole Kole Seeds is read, for which the Secretary is instructed to return the Society's thanks to Messrs. Arbuthnot & Co. and to request that they will continue this mode of supplying Seeds as occasion may offer. The Secretary is further instructed to remit a Bill for the Amount of this, as well as the former supply obtained through Messrs. Arbuthnot & Co. from Bangalore.

Indo-Roman Orthography.

The Sub-Committee of Civil History, Languages and Antiquities is requested to meet on Saturday next at 12 o'clock to take into consideration the Paper presented by Professor Rosk on Indo-Roman Orthography, and Dr. Farrell is requested to preside at the Meeting.

Conchology—Iron Furnaces.

Dr. Farrell presents to the Society a Paper on Conchology by Staff Surgeon Collier, and a paper of Observations on the Materials for constructing Iron Furnaces by R. Russel, Esqr., Hospital Assistant. Ordered that the first of these papers be referred to the Sub-Committee of Natural History and the second to the Sub-Committee of Mineralogy.

Carrot Seed.

A Packet of Carrot seed transmitted by Lieut. Malcolm, 1st Ceylon Regt., is presented, and a letter transmitted from that Gentleman read. Ordered that the Secretary do present the thanks of the Society to Lieut. Malcolm and state at the same time that whenever the Society receives seeds from England or elsewhere it will be happy to furnish Lieut. Malcolm with a portion to assist him in continuing his experiments.

The Hon'ble the Chief Justice proposes that Henry Matthews Esquire, Advocate Fiscal, be admitted a Member of this Society, and the Motion being seconded by the Hon'ble and Ven'ble the Archdeacon, It is ordered that this Gentleman be ballotted for at the next General Meeting.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Thursday the 16th May, 1822.

Present.—

The Hon'ble The Chief Justice
The Hon'ble and Ven'ble Dr. Twisleton
Dr. Farrell

Revd. B. Clough	J. H. Reckerman Esqr.
Revd. J. H. De Saram	William Granville Esqr.
John Deane Esquire	Professor Rask
George Turnour Esquire	Lieut. Gascoyne, Secretary.

The Proceedings of the last General Meeting are read.

The Society proceeds to ballot for the admission of Henry Matthews, Esquire, Advocate Fiscal, as a Member.

Indo-Roman Orthography.

The following report of the Sub-Committee of Civil History, Languages and Antiquities on Professor Rask's Paper on Indo-Roman Orthography is read and ordered to be entered on the Proceedings of the Society.

" Literary Society.

" At a Meeting of the Sub-Committee of Civil History, Antiquities and Languages,

Present —

C. Farrell Esqr., M.D. Vice President.

Members.—

W. Granville Esqr. Acting Secretary.

" Report upon Professor Rask's System of Indo-Roman Orthography[27] as directed to be made at the last General Meeting.

" It appears to us that Professor Rask's plan for the more easy acquirement of the knowledge of the language of India is

27. Professor Rask's paper was printed in the *Ceylon Literary Register*, II (1887), pp. 111, 112 ; 119, 120 ; 125-128, with an introductory note by D. W. F., who quotes from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* that it had been "printed in the Transactions of the Literary and Agricultural Society of Ceylon." But there does not appear to have been any such Publication.

as a theory highly ingenious and possesses considerable apparent utility both in its formation and design.

"But as the introduction and use of the Roman Character in India forms its principal feature, and conceiving as we do that the Eastern Alphabets are as easily attained by us, as the Roman Character and pronunciation can possibly be by the Asiatic, we confess that we do not concur with the learned Professor in thinking that his system of Indo-Roman Orthography would tend so materially as he supposes to facilitate the beneficent object he has in view.

" To the assimilation of Characters and dialects of different Nations there are many obstacles, moral, physical and political, which are not contemplated in this Paper.

" To a certain extent, however, we think the plan before us might be successfully practised, namely, amongst the more scientific natives of the East and in those Seminaries of Oriental Learning which are carried on under the control of the British Government and the immediate superintendance of European Instructors.

(Signed) Charles Farrell,
,, William Granville."

Conchology.

The following Report of the Sub-Committee of Natural History and Agriculture on the Paper of Staff Surgeon Collier, entitled Remarks on Conchology is read and ordered to be entered in the Proceedings of the Society.

" At a Meeting of the Sub-Committee of Natural History and Agriculture held on Wednesday the 9th May, 1822.

"*Present.*—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard, Vice President,
Members— John Deane Esqre. Lieut. Gascoyne, Secretary.

" The Committee proceeds to take into consideration a paper by C. Collier, Esqr., Staff Surgeon, entitled Remarks on Conchology, Part 1st and 2nd.

"The Plan formed by Mr. Collier appears to the Committee highly ingenious, and capable of being easily committed to memory, but the Committee has no present means of judging if the System of Classification can be carried into effect with advantage. The Committee however considers that Mr. Collier is entitled to the best thanks of the Society for his valuable communication.

" The Committee takes this opportunity of recommending the Society that Mr. Collier may be requested to collect and classify an Assortment of Shells for the Museum of the Institution, and that adequate Funds be placed at his disposal for that purpose as the situation of Mr. Collier at Trincomalie and his scientific acquirements, offer a most advantageous opportunity for this desirable object.

(Signed) Hardinge Giffard
,, J. Deane
,, T. B. Gascoyne."

The Secretary is directed to communicate the thanks of the Society to Mr. Collier for his Paper.

The Society adopts the suggestion of the Sub-Committee that Mr. Collier be requested to collect and classify an Assortment of Shells for the Museum of the Institution, and the Secretary is desired to communicate the wishes of the Institution to Staff Surgeon Collier accordingly. The Society also empowers the Secretary to draw from the Treasurer from time to time such sums not exceeding 600 Rix dollars as may be be required for this object, and that he do request Mr. Collier to arrange the Selection according to his own System.

The Directions of Professor Jannison for preserving objects of Natural History having been translated by the Revd. A. Armour into Cingalese, ordered that between 2 and 300 copies be printed.

Iron Ores.

Dr Farrell lays before the Society a Paper of Observations upon Iron Ores and their composition, sent by R. Russell Esqre., Hospital Assistant. Ordered that it be referred to the Sub-Committee of Geology, Mineralogy, and Geography.

Carrot Seed from Kotmale.

A Parcel of Carrot Seeds, sent by Lieut. Malcolm from Kotmale is presented, for which the Secretary is desired to present the thanks of the Society to that Gentleman.

The Ballot being concluded, Henry Matthews Esquire is declared duly elected.

The Secretary is authorised to employ a Peon in this Establishment at a fixed Monthly Salary of Twelve Rix Dollars.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society, held on Saturday the 15th June, 1822.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir H. Giffard
The Hon'ble and Ven'ble the Archdeacon Dr. Farrell

Henry Matthews Esqre.	Revd. B. Clough
Revd. Samuel Lambrick	J. H. Reckerman Esqre.
Professor Rask	Lieut. Gascoyne, Secretary.

The Proceedings of the last General Meeting are read.

Iron Ores—Iron Furnaces.

The following Report of the Sub-Committee of Geology, Mineralogy, and Geography on Two Papers on Iron Ores by R. Russell Esqre., is read.

" Literary Society

" At a Meeting of the Sub-Committee of Geology, Mineralogy and Geography, held on Tuesday the 21st May 1822.

Present.—

Dr. Farrell, Vice President.
Lieut. Gascoyne, Secretary.

" The Committee proceeds to take into consideration and report upon a Paper entitled " Observations on Iron Ores and their Composition " and a Paper entitled " Observations on the Materials fit for constructing Furnaces, etc. for smelting Iron Ores," both transmitted by R. Russell, Esqre., Hospital Assistant. The Committee consider that Mr. Russell is entitled to the best thanks of the Society for these his contributions to their Literary Records, and that his observations evince considerable knowledge of Geology, Mineralogy and the mode of working Iron Ores.

(Signed) Charles Farrell
„ T. B. Gascoyne."

The Secretary is directed to communicate the thanks of the Society to Mr. Russell for his Paper.

Conchology.

Dr. Farrell presents a third Paper on Conchology by C. Collier Esqre., Staff Surgeon, which is ordered to be referred to the Sub-Committee of Natural History and Agriculture.

Adjourned to Tuesday the 16th July next.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Tuesday the 16th July 1822.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard

William Granville Esqre. Revd. J. H. De Saram

Henry Matthews Esqre. Revd. Saml. Lambrick

J. H. Reckerman Esqre. Revd. Ben. Clough

Professor Rask

Lieut. T. B. Gascoyne Secretary

The Proceedings of the last General Meeting are read.

A Letter from Staff Surgeon Collier, stating his readiness to assist in elucidation or collection of objects of Natural History is read.

Ordered that the thanks of the Society be communicated to Mr. Collier for his kind acquiescence in its request.

Agriculture and Cattle.

A Paper entitled " A Demonstration of the Great Injury the Agriculture in this Country is liable to by the Cattle consisting of Oxen, Buffaloes, Goats, Sheep, etc." by J. D. Vanderlaan is laid before the Society.

Ordered that it be referred to the Sub-Committee of Natural History and Agriculture.

Adjourned to Thursday the 15th August next.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Thursday the 15th August 1822.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard.

Dr. Farrell

The Revd. Jas. Glenie The Revd. J. H. De Saram

Lieut. T. B. Gascoyne, Secretary.

The Proceedings of the last General Meeting are read.

The Secretary is authorised to purchase an Almair for the purpose of containing the Papers and Books of the Society.

The Secretary proposes Samuel Johnstone,Esqre.to be admitted a Member of this Institution, which proposition being seconded by Sir Hardinge Giffard, It is ordered that this Gentleman be ballotted for at the next General Meeting.

Adjourned to Monday the 16th of September next.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Monday the 16th September 1822.

Present.—

Lieut. T. B. Gascoyne, Secretary.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Tuesday the 15th October 1822.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard
The Hon'ble and Ven'ble Dr. Twisleton
Lieut.-Col. Walker — Revd. Benjamin Clough
John Deane Esqre. — J. H. Reckerman Esqre.

Captn. Gascoyne, Secretary.

Sinhalese Medicine.

A Paper by Dr. Hoatson on the Singhalese Practice of Medicine, transmitted by Dr. Farrell, is read.

Ordered that the thanks of the Society be communicated to Mr. Hoatson for his Memoir, and that it be referred to the Sub-Committee of Natural History and Agriculture.

Plantain.

A Letter from F.J. Templer,Esqre. transmitted to G. Lusignan Esqre., with a remarkable Plantain Shrub with four blossoms, is read.

Resolved that Mr. Templer be thanked for his favour.

The Society proceeds to ballot for the admission of Samuel Johnstone, Esquire, who is declared duly elected.

Adjourned to the 15th November next.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society, held on Monday the 16th December, 1822.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard
The Hon'ble and Ven'ble Dr. Twisleton
Doctor Farrell
The Rev. A. Armour — H. A. Marshall Esqr.
John Deane Esqr. — J. H. Reckerman Esqr.

J. W. Bennett Esqr. Lieut. Col. Walker
Wm. Granville Esqr. Captn. Gascoyne

The Proceedings of the last General Meeting held on the 15th October are read.

Conchology.

The following Report of the Sub-Committee of Natural History and Agriculture on Dr. Collier's Third Paper on Conchology is read and directed to be entered.

"The Committee have attentively considered the third Paper on Conchology by Mr. Collier referred to them by the Society.

"As the System proposed by Mr. Collier becomes more developed, its simplicity and comprehensiveness become more apparent, and the Committee now venture to hazard an opinion that the Plan of Mr. Collier founded as it is on principles so good as the internal organisation and habits of the animals inhabiting Shells, and which he has had such peculiar opportunities of accurately observing, cannot fail of being generally received as a very valuable addition to the Science of Natural History."[28]

Sinhalese Medicine.

The Report of the Committee of Natural History and Agriculture on a Memoir by Assistant Surgeon Hoatson, on the Singhalese Practice of Medicine is read and ordered to be recorded.

"The Committee having also perused Mr. Hoatson's Memoirs on the Singhalese Practice of Medicine and Materia Medica, are of opinion that it presents a large share of the knowledge on these Branches extant among the Inhabitants of this Island, and that it will form a valuable addition to the Society's Records."

A letter from the Board of Superintendance of the College of Fort St. George dated 4 June, 1822 is read, requesting the Society's acceptance of the Copies of the following Books printed at the College Press.

No. 3806 *Arabic Syntax*
4280 *Vicramarha Tales*
2422 *Beschi's Latin Grammar*
4261 *Campbell's Teloogoo Dictionary*
3935 *Carnataca Grammar*
3978 *Campbell's Teloogoo Grammar*, 2nd Edition.

28. Yet Collier withdrew his papers in favour of another scheme, and neither appears to have received any wider currency.

Ordered that the thanks of the Society be communicated to the College Board for this obliging Donation.

Import of Seeds.

A letter from Lovell Pennell, Esq., at the Cape of Good Hope dated 29th August relative to the supply of seeds for the Society is read.

Transit of Mercury.

A paper recording Observations made by George Lusignan,Esqr. on the Transit of Mercury over the Sun's Disk on the 5th November last is read.

Resolved that the thanks of the Society be communicated to Mr. Lusignan for his Memoir.

Birds.

A letter from Hospital Assistant Knox transmitted with a Collection of Stuffed Birds which are also exhibited is read.

Ordered that the thanks of the Society be communicated to Mr. Knox for his Specimens.

A Note from John Walbeoff Esqr., notifying his Intention to withdraw from the Society is read.

John Deane Esquire having been succeeded in the office of Pay Master General by William Granville Esqr., the latter Gentleman is requested to become the Treasurer of this Institution, which he obligingly accedes to.

Import of Seeds.

Ordered that another supply of Seeds be ordered from the Cape of Good Hope by an early opportunity on the Plan adopted by the General Meeting of the 15th November, 1821, and that the same be printed and published in the *Ceylon Gazette* as was done on the former occasion.

Ordered that the Annual General Meeting do take place at 12 o'clock on Thursday the 16th January 1823, and that a notification to that Effect be entered in the *Ceylon Government Gazette.*

1823.

At the Annual General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Thursday the 16th January 1823. *Present.—*

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard

The Hon'ble Sir Richard Ottley

The Hon'ble and Ven'ble Dr. Twisleton

Henry Matthews Esqr.	Samuel Johnstone Esqr.
The Revd. J. H. De Saram	The Revd. A. Armour
William Henry Hooper Esqr.	Alexander Moon Esqr.

The Proceedings of the last General Meeting are read.

His Honor the Lieutenant Governor having at the request of Sir Hardinge Giffard notified his willingness to become the Patron and President of the Society, Sir Hardinge Giffard moves that His Honor be elected to that Situation accordingly, which is carried unanimously.

Sir Hardinge Giffard is requested to convey the thanks of the Society to the Lieutenant Governor for his obliging acquiescence in Sir Hardinge Giffard's Invitation.

Sir Hardinge Giffard reads from the Chair an Address containing a general view of the objects and progress of the Society since its formation.

Resolved that the thanks of the Society be presented to Sir Hardinge Giffard for his Address, and that it be published for general information.[29]

Resolved that in future the General Committee of the Society do consist of nine Members, exclusive of the Secretary and Treasurer who are considered Ex-officio Members.

The Society proceeds to ballot for the Election of the General Committee of the Current Year, when the following Gentlemen having the majority of Votes are declared duly elected.

The Reverend Andrew Armour	Samuel Johnstone Esquire.
William Henry Hooper Esquire	Henry Augustus Marshall Esquire
George Lusignan Esquire	Captn. Schneider
Henry Matthews Esquire	Lieut.-Colonel Walker
John Deane Esquire	

The Meeting is adjourned.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Tuesday, the 17th March 1823.

Present.—

The Hon'ble the Chief Justice

The Hon'ble and Ven'ble Dr. Twisleton

Doctor Farrell

29. The address was published in the *Government Gazette*, January 25th, 1823.

Henry Matthews Esqr. The Revd. A. Armour
The Revd. J. H. De Saram Captn. Gascoyne

Import of Seeds.

A Letter from Messrs. Ronalds & Son, Seedsman, transmitted with a supply of Garden Seeds is read.

Resolved that Messrs. Ronalds & Co., be requested to send out a further Supply of the growth of this Year to be shipped between October and December ; That the Investment be similar to that now received with the exception of the Tools ; that He do send Four Rakes in one parcel, he do extend the supply of Peas to Six Gallons and direct it to Archdeacon Twisleton.

Resolved that this order and a remittance equal to Messrs. Ronald's Bill be transmitted by the Ship Bedford.

Snake.

A Letter from P. J. Vanderstraaten Esqr., transmitted with a curious Nest of Eggs of the Deya Polonga is read.

Resolved that the thanks of the Society be communicated to Mr. Vanderstraaten.

Conchology.

Dr. Farrell presents Three Papers on Conchology by Staff Surgeon Collier, and requests that they may be substituted for those already presented which Mr. Collier wishes may be withdrawn.

The Revd. J.H. De Saram presents to the Society some stuffed Specimens of Animals, viz., 1 Monkey, 3 Squirrels, 1 Wild Cat.

The Meeting is adjourned.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Tuesday the 17th April, 1823.

Present.—

The Hon'ble and Ven'ble Dr. Twisleton
Dr. Farrell
Lieut.-Colonel Walker Chas. Edwd. Layard Esqr.
Captn. T. B. Gascoyne, Secretary.

Hirundo Esculenta.

Dr. Farrell presents to the Society Specimens of the Hirundo Esculenta, its Nest and Eggs, also a Paper descriptive of the Bird

and its process of Nidification, the whole sent down from Kandy by Mr. Robert Russell, Hospital Assistant.

Mr. Russell's Paper being read, It is resolved that the thanks of the Institution be presented to Mr. Russell for his very obliging and valuable communication.

The Meeting is adjourned.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held at Colombo on Saturday the 17th May 1823.

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard

The Hon'ble and Venerable Dr. Twisleton

John Deane Esqr.

W. H. Hooper Esqr.

William Granville Esqr., Treasurer and Acting Secretary.

The Proceedings of the last General Meeting are read.

Transmitted letter of thanks to Mr. Russell for the present[a] presented to this Society by the Hands of Dr. Farrell.

The Meeting is adjourned.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held at Colombo on Saturday the 24th June 1823.

Present.–

Dr. Farrell

The Hon'ble and Ven'ble Doctor Twisleton

Lieut.-Colonel Walker — The Reverend J. H. De Saram

George Lusignan Esqre. — The Reverend Andrew Armour

Charles Edward Layard Esqre. Captain Gascoyne, Secretary.

The Proceedings of the last General Meeting are read.

Resolved that the Secretary do transmit a List of the Subscribers to the Treasurer, and do request him to collect the Subscriptions for the Current Year.

The Meeting is adjourned.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Thursday, the 17th July, 1823.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard

The Hon'ble and Ven'ble Dr. Twisleton

Captain Gascoyne, Secretary.

Bat.

A specimen of a particular Species of Bat is presented by the Reverend Andrew Armour.

Adjourned till the 16th August next.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Saturday the 16th August 1823.

Present.—

The Honorable Sir Hardinge Giffard
The Honorable and Venerable Dr. Twisleton
Doctor Farrell

Henry Augustus Marshall Esqr.	John Henry Reckerman Esqr.
John Deane Esqr.	The Reverend Andw. Armour
William Granville Esqr.	Captain Gascoyne

The Proceedings of the last General Meeting held on the 17th ultimo are read.

The Secretary lays before the Meeting a Letter (regarding the Garden Seeds wrote for to the Cape of Good Hope) from Mr. Pennell addressed to the late Secretary Mr. Turnour.

The Treasurer states to the Society that the Balance in favour of the Society in his Hands this day amounts to Rds. 1885.11.3, and that he has collected the better part of the Subscriptions for the year 1822/23.

Resolved that the Treasurer be permitted to appropriate Thirty Rix-Dollars to the part purchase of an Iron Chest for the better Security of the Funds of this and other Societies.

Mr. Granville begs to return his Thanks to the Society for their acquiescence in his Request regarding the Iron Chest.

The Meeting is adjourned.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Wednesday the 17th September 1823.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard
The Hon'ble and Venerable Doctor Twisleton
Doctor Farrell.

Lieut.-Col. Walker	V. W. Vanderstraaten Esqr.

Captn. Gascoyne, Secretary.

Potatoes.

Resolved that measures be taken for obtaining a small Grant of Land in the Kandyan Country on which to undertake the experiment of growing Potatoes, and that the Secretary do write to Alexander Moon Esquire and Mr. Russel, Hospital Assistant, to select a Spot, and that he do otherwise adopt such means as may be most effectual to forward this object, previous to the next Monthly Meeting.

The Meeting is adjourned.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Tuesday the Twenty-first October 1823.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard
The Hon'ble and Ven'ble Dr. Twisleton
Doctor Farrell

William Granville Esqre.	Lieut.-Col. Walker
George Lusignan Esqre.	Major Delatre
W. H. Hooper, Esqre.	The Reverend Andrew Armour
Henry Matthews Esqre.	The Reverend J. H. De Saram
J. H. Reckerman Esqre.	Captain. T. B. Gascoyne

The Proceedings of the last General Meeting are read.

Onions and Pototoes.

A Letter from Mr. Moon relative to the Cultivation of Onions and Potatoes is read.

Resolved that the Experiment of growing Potatoes be tried in the Neighbourhood of Maturatta, and that the thanks of the Society be communicated to Lieut. Forbes commanding at that Station who has kindly undertaken to form a Plantation, and that the Secretary be authorized to draw upon the Funds for such Sums as may be found necessary for enclosing a Piece of Ground there, and any other Expences connected with this object.

That Mr. Moon be thanked for his communication and the interest he has taken in furthering the wishes of the Society.

That the Secretary be requested to procure Potatoes for Seed by the earliest opportunity whenever they arrive on the Island and that a communication be made to Bombay for the same object as well as Onion Seed.

Stone Pine.

Mr. Granville begs to inform the Meeting that in the furtherance of the object it has in view, he has procured from the Cape of Good Hope some fresh Cones of the Fir and Silver Tree, part of which have been disposed of amongst some of the Members of the Society, and the remainder transmitted to a Corresponding Member, Mr. Turnour, at Ratnapoora for planting in the Interior.

Mr. Turnour has been requested to report to this Society the success which may attend their introduction into the Soil of this Island.

Resolved that the thanks of the Society be due to Mr. Granville for his communication.

The Meeting is adjourned.

At a Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Monday the Seventeenth November 1823.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard

The Hon'ble and Ven'ble Dr. Twisleton

The Revd. Andw. Armour

William Granville Esqre.

The Proceedings of the last General Meeting having been read by Mr. Granville, the Meeting is adjourned.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Monday the 15th December 1823.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard

The Hon'ble and Ven'ble Dr. Twisleton

William Granville Esqr.

The Revd. J. H. De Saram

The Revd. A. Armour

Lieut.-Col. Walker

Captn. Gascoyne

William Granville Esqr. Treasurer, has the honor to lay before the Society a state of its Funds as they stood on the 1st December Instant by which the Society appears to have a Balance Credit of Rdrs. 1686.11.3.

Stone Pine.

Mr. Granville reads the following Paper reporting the success of Pines of the Stone Fir[30] planted at Colombo and in the District of Saffragam.

" Mr. Granville has much pleasure in acquainting the Committee that out of Thirty Seeds of the Stone Fir planted by him in the Garden of Sir A. Johnston at Colpetty, Eight have come up. They appear to be extremely strong and healthy, and promise to thrive remarkably well.

" Mr. Granville is also enabled to inform the Meeting that a considerable number of the Seeds sent to Mr. Turnour at Ratnapoora have appeared above ground, and are doing well. This circumstance holds out a reasonable expectation that in course of time, this Tree will ultimately prove not only an Ornament to Garden and Forest Scenery, but one of considerable public utility in this Island."

Potatoes.

The Secretary reads two letters from Mr. Forbes relative to the projected Potato Plantation at Maturatta, and it is resolved that an allowance of 4 Rdrs a Month be granted to an Overseer to be appointed by him.

Resolved that the thanks of the Society be given to Mr. Granville for his obliging communication.

The Annual General Meeting for the election of a New Committee is fixed for Thursday the 15th January, 1824, at 12 o'clock, and the Secretary is requested to advertise it.

(To be Continued.)

30. ***Pinus pinea***, a species which has edible seeds: it has not survived.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

(CEYLON BRANCH)

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The Ceylon Antiquary

and

Literary Register.

Published Quarterly.

Vol. VIII. April, 1923. Part IV.

COLOMBO IN THE 17th CENTURY.[1]

By L. J. Gratiaen.

I propose in this paper, besides shortly sketching the circumstances under which Colombo fell into the hands of the Dutch East Indies Company, to describe the outward aspect of the town both when the Portuguese held it, and after the Dutch replanned and rebuilt it, collecting together, so far as I am able, the information found scattered in many books.

Let us first of all carry ourselves back in imagination some 270 years. Let us go back to the year 1655. We are not surprised to find ourselves in a very different Ceylon from that of to-day.

Ceylon, in 1655, contains three different governments: Kandyan, Portuguese, Dutch; and they are at war. For a century the Portu-

1. The following are the chief authorities relied on in this paper:
 (a) Memoirs issued from the Government Archivist's office—Van Goens (1661), Van Goens, Junior (1679), Van Rhee (1697), Simons (1707).
 (b) Accounts of Ceylon of which translations appear in Journals of the Royal Asiatic Society (C.B.): Ribeiro (R.A.S.42), Saar (R.A.S.39), Schouten (R.A.S. 40), Daalmans (R.A.S. 35), Beknopte Historie (R. A. S. 38), Correspondence of Raja Sinha (R. A. S. 55).
 (c) Accounts of Ceylon of which translations appear in the *Ceylon Literary Register*: Schweitzer (*C.L.R.* 1889), Langhans (*C.L.R.* 1888), Hustaard (*C.L.R.* 1895), Thunberg, *Batavia Dagh Register*.
 (d) Baldaeus.

The sketch plans are based on the present map of Colombo, the plan of the Fort of Colombo given in the Government Archivist's *Report on the Dutch Records*, and maps in Baldaeus, Cordiner and Percival, a number of which are reproduced in an article by the late Mr. E. Sueter in a *'Times of Ceylon'* Christmas Number.

guese have carried on war against the Sinhalese; they have conquered district after district; and when their new subjects have revolted they have "pacified" them with fire and sword. They have left only the mountaineers unconquered, and even the mountain Capital they have more than once taken and burnt.

Now the tide has turned. King Rája Sinha of Kandy has called to his aid the Dutch East India Company, who have driven the Portuguese from the eastern and southern coasts and from Negombo. The Dutch now garrison the forts of Galle and Negombo, and, but for war in Europe, would by this have marched on Colombo, the Portuguese capital. From 1652 to 1654 they have been fighting the English in the North Sea. Now in September, 1655, General Hulft reaches Galle with 16 fine ships and 2,500 men. He has come to capture Colombo.

As the Dutch march north, 3,000 strong, a force of 700 Portuguese, flushed with a great victory over the Kandyans, meets them at Moratuwa, and only 200 of the 700 escape from the battle. Soon all the Portuguese troops are withdrawn within the walls of Colombo, and the Dutch sit down to besiege it. General Hulft establishes himself in a "fine residence" on the hill that still bears his name. On the other hills—St. Thomas', St. Sebastian, Wolvendaal—batteries are erected, and begin to play on the town.

Colombo is at this time a fortified town. To twentieth century eyes it may seem a small place, for it occupies only the area between the lake and the harbour; but in the seventeenth century it was considered "large and spacious,"[2] "a beautiful large town."[3] On all sides except the west, where the rocks are considered a sufficient defence, it is surrounded by walls of cabook, with 14 cabook bastions, placed chiefly on the east and the southwest, where the protection of sea and lake is lacking; and the defences are here strengthened by means of moats.

The names of the bastions are given by three writers, but we can be reasonably certain of the names of six only. These are St. Cruz or Holy Cross at the point of the harbour; St. Augustine, the great central bastion looking towards Galle Face; and those on the east—St. John, "built high up with stone," near the sea; next St. Stephen; then St. Sebastian; and last the Mother of God. The confusion about the other names seems due to the fact that each

2 Schouten.
3. Saar

writer names only 12 bastions, possibly the original number. "On all the bastions were bells to quickly make known everywhere what was going on."[4]

In the walls are 3 gates : one on the South, by the Bastion Augustine, leading to the Great Plain or Mapane, a name sometimes extended to the bastion, and two in the eastern wall : a big one by St John's Bastion, through which one goes north to the Kelani ferries ; and the other south of St. Sebastian, called the Queens' Gate, through which the road leads over an arm of the lake to St. Sebastian hill and then, by way of what is now Maradana Road, to Cotta.

The town is divided in two by a brook, running from near the present landing jetty to near the old Fort railway station. To the west of this are gardens, for the most part. It is along the two roads leading to the eastern gates that the buildings chiefly stand. They include a Town Hall, a Royal Hospital, and the Convents of five religious orders, including the Jesuits, who conduct a school where Latin and Philosophy are taught, and where the pupils sometimes give dramatic entertainments. All these fine buildings and lofty churches and numerous large houses are built " spacious, airy and high, with stone walls, as if meant to stand for ever, according to the Portuguese manner of building."

The inhabitants, who live " in affluence and state,"[5] enjoy a certain amount of self-government, having their own 'Camara' or Council.[6] They are, for the most part, not Portuguese, but Porto-Sinhalese, the offspring of the mixed marriages which the Portuguese Government vigorously encourage. It is a rule in the Portuguese army that a soldier who marries is immediately discharged and becomes a " citizen." He continues, however, to serve in the town forces.

We have no certain information about the number of inhabitants in the town. Ribeiro says that some years before this there were 900 noble families and 1,500 minor officials and tradesmen. Besides this there were, of course, large numbers of domestic slaves, not to speak of a large garrison. All citizens did military service, being enrolled in special companies.

The siege began in October. The Dutch Army numbered about 3,000, while the Portuguese had about 1,300, of whom 500

4. Baar.
5. Schouten.
6. Ribeiro.

were regular troops—many of them natives of Colombo—300 "married people" or ex-soldiers, who served without pay, and the rest lascorins. The fortifications were not very strong.[7] The carriages of the great guns were so rotten that some fell to pieces after the first discharge. But spirit made up for all deficiencies.

The first plan of the Dutch was to take the town by one overwhelming assault. When they tried it on November 12th they were beaten back with very great loss. Hulft was himself wounded, and Saar says that when he was taken to his quarters he kept crying: "O my fine soldiers! O my fine soldiers! Would I had my soldiers back." He decided the town could not be taken without reinforcements, and having asked for them from Batavia he sat down to wait and see what famine could do. The garrison were forced to eat elephants and buffaloes, dogs and cats and rats. Hundreds of starving wretches were driven out of the gates. The Dutch shot them down between the town and their trenches. For 5 months the Dutch waited and the Portuguese starved. Then the Dutch received reinforcements, and General Hulft, going down into the advanced trenches to examine the position before making an attack, was struck by a shot from the walls and killed. There was consternation for a moment, but preparations were pushed on for the final assault.

Early one Sunday morning, when most of the Portuguese troops were in Church, the Dutch made a surprise attack on St. John's Bastion and took it, and could not be dislodged. In a few days the town offered to surrender. The defending force was now reduced to 90 soldiers and 100 armed inhabitants, including officers and many maimed. On the 12th of May the garrison marched out with ensigns displayed, and drums beating, to the Dutch General's quarters, where they laid down their arms. These were followed by the citizens, sick, wounded and crippled. Then the Dutch army marched into Colombo, and towards evening the Prince's standard was planted in the water-fort, and the boom of cannon from the walls proclaimed that the Dutch East Indies Company was master of the town.

Colombo was thus formally transferred to the Dutch, but their title was not unchallenged. The Dutch had promised Rája Sinha that when the town was taken it would be handed over to him,

7. Many of these details are from the Portuguese account of the siege in Baldaeus.

but this they had now no intention of doing[8] They asserted that while they had spent blood and treasure fighting the Portuguese, and gained no profit from their conquest, Rája Sinha had harassed them and their subjects, and failed to pay their expenses, which he had guaranteed. They would, therefore, hold the districts on the south-west coast as security for the payment of the King's debt. Rája Sinha's troops were forbidden to enter the town. He could not think of going to war with the Dutch, but he could harass them, as he had done before. He ordered that no provisions should be brought into Colombo from the surrounding districts.

"Therefore," says Saar, "famine reigned again in the town; and so many died, that our slaves, whom we had with us in the camp, had nothing else to do three or four days long but to bury. There died in one day twenty to thirty, and this caused a great stench, so that many even amongst us fell sick and died, although we had large quantities of rice and salt-meat from the ships to live upon."

As it was determined to hold the town so strongly that Rája Sinha would be afraid to molest it, the Dutch were not satisfied with repairing the Portuguese defences, which were old fashioned, and owing to their great extent required a large force to man them. They decided to build a new fort or Castle on the western side of the town, between the sea and the brook. A series of large bastions were built,[9] partly on the sites of the Portuguese ones, and connected by strong walls. On the east, and so much of the south as was not washed by the lake, broad and deep moats were dug. This new castle became the residence of the officials and the Government and business centre.

Though the Portuguese officials and troops and many citizens sailed away after the town was captured, the bulk of the inhabitants must needs remain, and the Dutch had promised that they should be "civilly and favourably treated, and remain in quiet possession of their estates." Perhaps it was the presence of these "natural enemies" which led the Dutch to build their Castle in such haste. At all events most of the houses of the Portuguese city had stood at the eastern end of it, and this old townco ntinued to be the Portu-

8. Beknopte Historie.

9. Named Leyden, Delft, Hoorn (on the East), Rotterdam, Middleburg, Kliffenburg and Enkhuysen (on the South), Briel and Amsterdam (on the West).

guese quarter. So late as 1689 we are told that only 24 Europeans lived in the old town.[10]

The defences of this old town were not neglected. The eastern bastions battered by the siege were rebuilt more solidly,[11] and were further strengthened by the cutting through of the land that projected into the lake at the southern end. On the north and south, too, walls were built from the ends of the eastern wall as far as the Castle moat. On the west only there were no defences. Here a large space of low swampy ground called the *buffalo's plain* was left open, as part of the scheme of defence of the castle. In time of danger it could be put under water by opening a sluice. The only means of communication between the castle and the old town was to the north of this plain, along an embankment near the shore.

These extensive works could not of course be completed in a year or two. It was estimated they would take ten years, and at first work was pushed on rapidly, but later it must have been carried on more leisurely, and by the end of the century one gate at least was not covered over.

In June, 1681, Van Goens thought Colombo had been "brought to a fair condition for defence," and was giving orders that the masonry work on the inner side of Point Victoria should be completed. After this the work at Point Kandy was to be commenced, Rája Sinha enlarged, and both points connected by a curtain. "When this is done," he says, " the town will be sufficiently fortified on the Negombo side, and with God's help will be strong enough to withstand a powerful enemy." Eighteen years after this, however, we read that " the fortifications are nearly ready."[12]

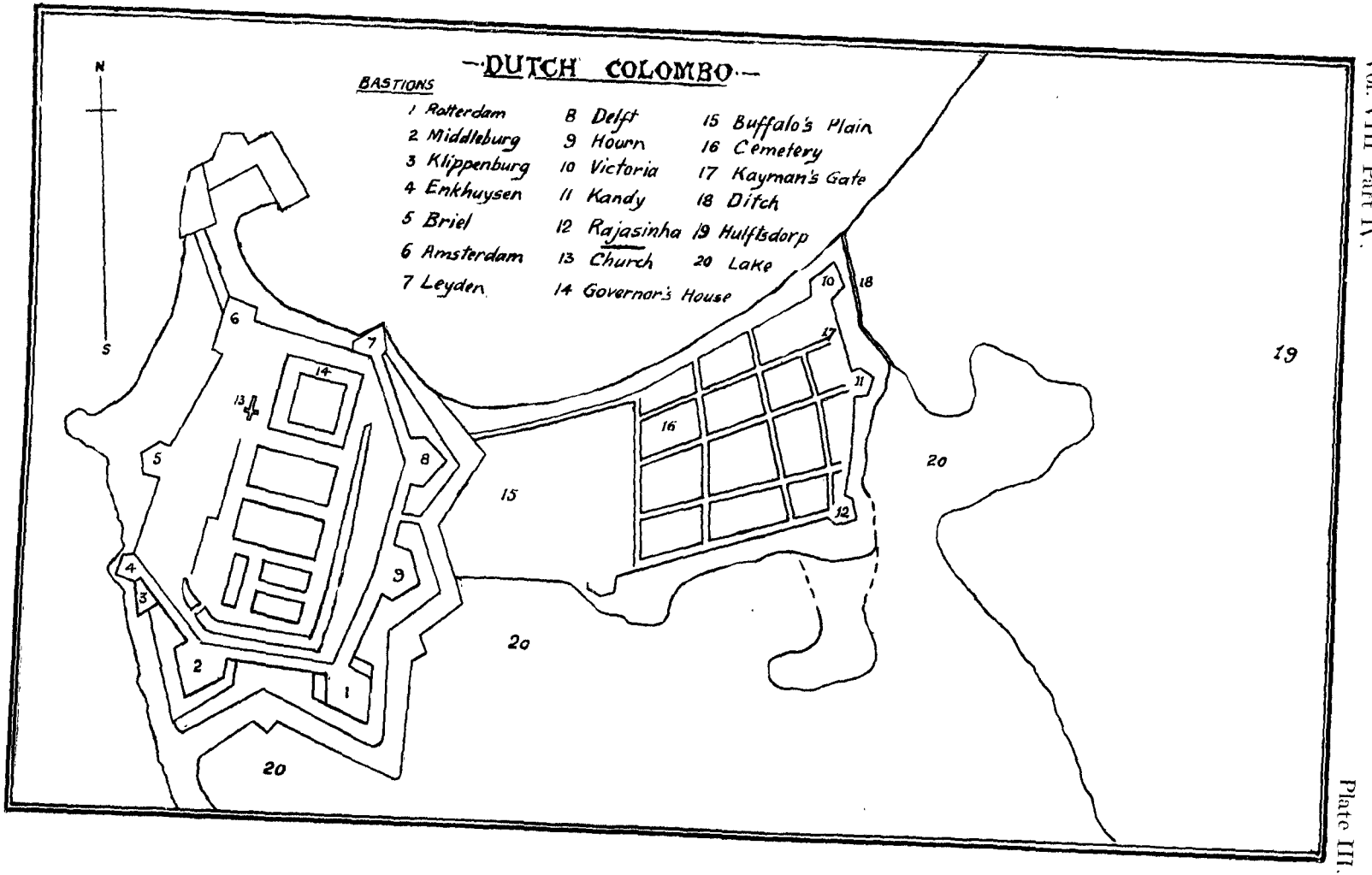
Most of the work of fortification was done by slave labour. The Company at one time had four thousand slaves of different nations in Colombo,[13] over whom were Dutch overseers. At the same time the authorities were anxious to set as many of their slaves as possible to work in the rice fields, in their unavailing efforts to grow enough rice to make the island independent of India as regards food. When they thought the defences strong enough, they evidently diverted much of their labour force to

10. Schweitzer gives the new names of the town bastions as follows: Victoria (St. John), Constantia, Concordia, Haarlem, Enkhuysen; but Van Goens in his *Instructions* (1661), after referring to Point Victoria as " the chief point of defence of the town " on the east, goes on to speak of Point Kandy and Rája Sinha also as parts of the eastern defences of the town. Elsewhere he gives the following partial list of the bastions of both castle and town:—Zeeburg, Victoria, Middleburg, Sandenburg, Raja Sinha, Enkhuizen, Rotterdam, Sodenburg. Baldaeus refers to the " Queen's Gate " as " Rajuha."

11. Schweitzer.

12. Van Goens, Junior

13. Schweitzer, p. 156.


DUTCH COLOMBO
BASTIONS
1 Rotterdam
2 Middleburg
3 Klippenburg
4 Enkhuysen
5 Briel
6 Amsterdam
7 Leyden
8 Delft
9 Hourn
10 Victoria
11 Kandy
12 Rajasinha
13 Church
14 Governor's House
15 Buffalo's Plain
16 Cemetery
17 Kayman's Gate
18 Ditch
19 Hulftsdorp
20 Lake
N
S
20
20
15
20
19

this work. The slaves we cannot say "lived," but "lay at night" in little thatched huts, outside the western wall of the fort.

Not only was the town re-fortified. It was re-built on a regular plan. It is worth noticing how regularly the streets of the Fort and Pettah were laid out. New streets have been made since then, but otherwise there has been little change in the streets for more than 250 years. Of the "three straight and broad streets lengthwise and three broadwise" of the Pettah, Keyser Street, Prince Street, and Second Cross Street still keep their Dutch names, very slightly altered; Front Street was then the Market Street, Main Street the King's Street, and First Cross Street Haarlemmer Street. Bankshall Street and Maliban Street appeared later along the line of the walls, and since then the Pettah has grown by filling in parts of the lake and the harbour. The Fort streets, except Hospital Street where the Dutch had their hospital, changed their names after the English occupation, but they still retain vestiges of the avenues of shade trees which the Dutch planted by the roadside and before all the houses, so that the fort was "full of pleasant walks." Of the "large trees and gardens" that were then a feature of the Pettah little remains, but a hundred years ago Cordiner saw there "fine houses and luxuriant gardens," and the streets bordered with *suriya* trees.

A number of descriptions of Colombo in the period following the Dutch occupation have come down to us from travellers. Following these and other writers let us in fancy visit the town and take note of some of its chief features. In the first place, ships anchor half a mile or even a mile away from the shore, for the reef makes it dangerous for large ships to come close in. At the angle of land where we come ashore are situated the warehouses of the Company, where goods are being loaded into boats or unloaded. Here, too, stand a boat-building yard, a windmill for sawing boards, a smithy, in fact, it is a general factory where everything needed by sea or land is made for the Company.

When we enter the Fort we come first to a bare stretch of land where Queen's House and the Gordon Gardens now are. In the midst of this stretch of bare ground stands a ruined Portuguese church, where the Dutch afterwards built their church.[14] Across the road public offices stood where the Secretariat is to-day, but the central building is the hall of justice or court-house. The

14. This church fell into ruin about the time of the English occupation.

Secretary of the Government lives in the same range of buildings, near his work, and a little further on facing the harbour is the Governor's house. The third side of the square too contains Government offices. The garden of this Government Square is on a lower level than the streets, and is laid out as a flower garden in the celebrated stiff and regular style of Dutch gardens, as we gather from a picture in the Museum.

Other high officials, including the officer in command of the garrison, live in Prince Street, where the houses face the garden wall of the Governor's house, and so again the next street has back gardens on one side and house fronts on the other. Daalmans describes Bailie Street as "very bad," and Chatham Street as "the finest of all the cross roads." "In it are two or three lodgings of Europeans and the rest are mostly Toepasses and blacks." Only beyond Chatham Street are there houses facing Queen Street. There are ten or twelve, occupied by the Cashier, Dispenser, Shopkeeper, Ware-house masters, etc. Beyond these is a last Cross street. The Company builds houses in the Fort for all its servants, from the highest down to the foremen in charge of the blacksmiths' and carpenters' shops. Along two lengths of the rampart runs a canal, to supply water in case of siege.

If we cross this canal and pass through a gateway with ponderous iron-studded doors we shall see the "Great Plain," (or Galle Face) and the place of public executions, and beyond it a country richly filled with fruit trees.[15] Colombo will not extend in this direction for many a long day. The last Cross street, now partly built over, takes us to York Street. On our left, as we go down it, are miserable hovels. Into York Street opens, besides the Cross streets, Hospital Street, so called because here are the hospital and the house of the head surgeon. Here too are many "miserable hovels." To reach the remaining half of the town we go through the Delft gate and along the embankment, which has shade trees planted along it and a deep ditch on the right. Beyond this ditch lies the buffalo's plain.

We come then to the Market after which the first street is named, and to the Cemetery, where are buried all but the highest officials, who lie in vaults under the floor of the Dutch Church.

15. In 1687, Daalmans saw the old Church in ruins and the ground marked off for building a new one close by, and in 1695 Langhans saw here a fine big Reformed church; which he says was built by the Portuguese: a v likely error to fall into.

Along the cemetery walls are rows of small, thatched, mud huts,[16] where are sold "all the week long silks stuffs and linens by the Moors and Persians, and all sorts of fruits, dried fish, onions, sugar and rice."[17] Fish, fowls and other things are brought here in great quantities.[18] Going on to the end of "De Maarkt Straat" we may look out over the lake, where the crocodiles or caimans swarm. All that remains of them to-day is their name, which they have given to Kayman's Gate. As the years pass by and Kandyans and other enemies cease from troubling, the walls of the "*oud stad*" are allowed to fall into decay, and by 1695 they exist only here and there.[19] The pleasant walk along the lake becomes a fashionable evening promenade—the "Malieban." In the same way "godowns" or "*bangasai*" spring up along the line of the northern wall and give their name to Bankshall Street.

It matters little which of the streets we next go along, for they are very much alike, the houses with low verandahs, wooden pillars and low railing placed in one continuous line, all "compound" being at the back. But in front of the houses, as we have seen, shade trees are planted. The streets, we are told, are "always very clean, though it rain never so much,"[20] for there are strict laws ordering householders to keep the road clean in front of their houses. In 1676, householders were ordered to replace cadjan roofs by tiled ones, on pain of losing their property.

Among the public buildings in this part of the town are a Dutch hospital, "very well provided with able surgeons, and they with very good medicines,"[21] and an orphanage, where "the boys are taught to read and write, and afterwards taken into the Company's Service as drummers or soldiers, or artisans." The girls are taught to read and write and sew, "and there kept to work till somebody comes to marry them, which commonly happens by that time they are 12 or 13 years of age."[21]

If we wish to get out of the town on this side we must make our way to the north east angle, near the Victoria Bastion, for the old "Queen's Gate" has ceased to exist with the bringing of the lake up to the walls. Whether the gate by the Victoria Bastion remains where St. John's Gate stood or has already been moved south to the present site of Kayman's Gate is not clear. At any

16. Schweitzer.
17. Daalmans.
18. Schweitzer.
19. Langhans.
20. Langhans.
21. Schweitzer.

rate it was not called "Kayman's Gate" in the 17th Century, but the Negombo Gate, or the Gate Victoria. Probably, therefore, it was when the walls began to fall into decay towards the end of the century that a "short cut" to the outer town was formed directly from the end of De Konings Straat. Before leaving the Gate we must not forget to notice that outside the walls near the Victoria Bastion are a few fishermen's huts and a fish-market. Amid all the changes of two centuries and a half, St. John's fish-market has stood firm.

Outside the town it will scarcely be worth our while to go. From the town walls to the line of hills which form the town limits is "the plain of the town," where no houses or huts are allowed, and jungle has to be cut down regularly by Chetties, Paravas and Moors living in the villages beyond.[22] Through the plain and up the hills go the roads which still radiate like the spokes of a wheel from Kayman's Gate, and are connected by Hulftsdorp Street. On Hulftsdorp hill are the house and office of the Dessave,[23] whose jurisdiction commences at the hills. All the north and east is jungle, with scattered villages and patches of cultivation, through which go the roads to Pasbetal and Kotte.

Outside the old town lived not only Sinhalese villagers but colonies of Moors, Chetties, Paravas. These communities were treated with great rigour and suspicion by the Dutch, and not allowed to live inside the walls. Early in the next century they were each given a special location under their own headmen—in Old Moor Street, Chetty Street, etc., and so began an "Outer Pettah," a new Colombo.

Scattered about, at Wolvendaal, Welikade, Galle Face, Milagriya and other places are little schools, opened by the East Indies Company as part of their missionary activities. Daalmans speaks of them contemptuously, "nothing more than a wretched hut and a roof on sticks, that is open all round, and some covered with straw and some with tiles." No doubt they were primitive enough, like the instruction given in them.

At Grandpass was a "noble house"[24] where Kandyan envoys used to reside when they visited Colombo. Later on a house on Wolvendaal hill was set apart for the envoys, and the house at Grandpass became the Dutch Governor's country seat. Here began the cultivation of silkworms, which gave Sedawatta its name, and here, late in the next century, was formed the first cinnamon estate.

22. Van Rhee, p 56. 23. Van Goens, p 16. 24. Daalmans

THE PETA—VATTHU.

By DR. HENRY SNYDER GEHMAN, PH. D.

BOOK III.

(*Continued from Vol. VIII, Part II, Page 145.*)

III. The Peta Story of Rathakara.

NOW, while the Teacher was dwelling at Sávatthi, he told the story concerning a certain Petí.

A long while ago, they say, in the time of the Holy Kassapa, a certain woman abounding in the practice of righteousness, very pious in her religion on account of her absolute dependence on virtue alone, built on a level with the ground an exceedingly beautiful residence which was well arranged and had many pillars and staircases. There she caused the monks to remain, served them with savoury food, and gave the dwelling into the possession of the Chapter of priests.

At a subsequent time she died, and on account of another act which was wicked she was reborn as a *vimánapeti* on Himavant, the king of mountains, near lake Rathakára. By virtue of her good deed in giving her house to the Fraternity there was produced for her a high *vimána* (magical palace), consisting entirely of jewels, on all sides very pleasing, charming, and delightful, having a lotus-pond, resembling the Nandana grove, and adorned; while she herself was gold-coloured, handsome, attractive, and amiable. There without men she dwelt, enjoying heavenly glory.

Dissatisfaction, however, arose in her, since she was spending the long night without a man. In her unhappiness she cast some celestial mangoes into the river, thinking: "Here, this will be a successful means." All is to be understood in the same manner as we found it in the *Kannamundapetavatthu* (*P.V.* II, 12). But in this case a certain man who lived in Benares saw on the banks[8] of the Ganges one fruit of the mango and wished to know its origin-

8. Read *Gangáyatiresu*, B.

Going in due course and not seeing it, he came in the pursuit of his object to her dwelling place. Having seen him and having led him to her abode, she treated him kindly and took a seat. When he had seen the magnificence of her habitation, he asked her questions and spoke the following stanzas:

1. "You have ascended into a brilliant and shining celestial palace (*vimána*) that has pillars of cat's-eye gems and is variegated in manifold ways. There you remain, very powerful goddess, like the moon in her course in the day she is full.

2. "Your complexion resembles gold; you have a glowing appearance and are beautifully adorned. Seated upon an excellent and matchless couch, you and your husband are not solitary.

3. "You have on all sides also these lotus-ponds with their many flowers and numerous white lotus blossoms. Their bottoms and banks on all sides are covered with golden sands. In that place there is found no mud or marsh.

4. "Beautiful swans also, which are a delight to my heart, continually move around on the waters. When they are all come together, they utter pleasing notes; they have sweet voices like the sound of kettle-drums.

5. "You are refulgent and splendid with your comeliness, and you are resting in a boat. In your curved eyelash, in your laughter, in your agreeable speech, and in the elegance of every member you are brightly gleaming.

6. "This magical palace (*vimána*), free from dust, having pleasure gardens, and embodying the fulness of happiness and of joy, is standing upon the level ground. O lady of uncommon perception, with you I wish to enjoy myself here in gladness."[9]

When the man had thus expressed himself, the *vimána* goddess in reply spoke this stanza:

7. "Perform a deed which is to be known here, and let your mind be inclined hither. By achieving works which are manifest in this place, in that way you shall obtain me, who love pleasure."

When the man had heard the words of the *vimánapeti*, he went to the haunts of men. There he reflected and as a result of that performed meritorious works. Ere long he died and was reborn there (in the lady's precincts).

In narrating the fact of his companionship with the Peti, the redactors of the Holy Scriptures wrote the final stanza:

9. *Nandane*, play on Nandana, name of a garden in Indra's heaven.

8. He promised her with the words "Very well," and fulfilled a (worthy) act which was to be conjointly known. After he had accomplished a deed which was obvious (to her) in that place, the man was reborn into companionship with her.

After they had thus for a long time enjoyed heavenly bliss, the man died after the effect of his good deed had expired. But the woman who had recourse to her merit, completed in that place one period between two Buddhas. Then when our Blessed One was reborn in the world and in due course was dwelling at Jetavana in the cycle of his excellent righteousness which he established, the venerable Mahámoggallána one day, while wandering through the mountain, saw the magical palace and the *vimánapetí* whom he addressed with the above first six stanzas. She in reply told him all her experience from the very beginning. The Elder, having heard this, went to Sávatthi and informed the Buddha, who made this incident his theme and preached a sermon to the assembled folk. After the people heard him, they performed meritorious acts consisting of charity and other virtues and found delight in righteousness.

IV. The Peta Story of the Chaff.

Now while the Teacher was dwelling at Sávatthi, he told a story concerning four Petas.

In a certain village not very far from Sávatthi a fraudulent merchant made his living with trickery, arrogance, and other methods. He took rice leaves, made them heavier by sprinkling them with red clay, and sold them after he had mixed them with red rice.

His son who in a fit of anger said: "She does not honour my companions and friends who come to the house," took the hide of a draught animal and gave his mother a blow over the head.

His daughter-in-law clandestinely ate some meat which had been kept for the sake of all, but upon being questioned by them, she took an oath, asserting: "If the meat was eaten by me, may I in various successive existences cut off the flesh which is on my own back and eat it."

Now his wife said: "There is no help at all for the beggars." When she was importuned by them, she falsely swore: "If it is not true, I say, in various rebirths I shall eat excrement."

These four people at a subsequent time died and were reborn as Petas in the Vindhya forest. There the fraudulent merchant,

as a result of his deeds, with both his hands took burning chaff which he sprinkled upon his own head, suffering great agony.

His son with iron hammers, even of his own accord, split his own head and underwent great pain. His daughter-in-law, in retribution for her deeds, with her very sharp and exceedingly wide and long nails, kept on cutting off the flesh of her own back, and as she ate it, she experienced great anguish. His wife received excrement which was of strong odour, perfectly pure, free from black specks, formed from rice food, freshly passed, forsooth, of mixed origin with various kinds of worms, exceedingly bad smelling and loathsome. This she seized with both her hands, and, as she ate it, she suffered great pain. Thus while these four beings were reborn as Petas and were undergoing great torment, the venerable Mahámoggallána, on a journey through the mountains, one day reached the place and saw them.

In the following stanza he asked what sin had been committed by them:

1. "One partakes of bits of chaff, another one, however, of rice, and this woman of the blood of her own flesh, while you eat filthy and loathsome excrement. Of what is this the result?"

In answer to the Elder's question the wife of the fraudulent merchant thus explained the deeds that were committed by them all:

2. "This one formerly injured his mother, but that man was a dishonest merchant. This woman ate meat and deceived with an untrue word.

3. "I, being a human being among men, was a house-wife, the mistress of a whole family. From the righteous men I hid (my belongings) and did not give anything from here. With a lie I made concealment, saying: 'This in the house is not mine; if I do not speak the truth, may excrement be my food.'

4. "In consequence both of this act and of my falsehood my meal of sweet-smelling rice becomes ordure.

5. "Not barren are my deeds; for not is an action without its consequences. I both eat and drink faeces that are ill-smelling with worms."

When the Elder had heard the speech of the Petí, he narrated the news to the Blessed One. The Venerable One made this matter his theme and preached a sermon to the congregation that was present. His exposition was attended with profit to many people.

V. The Peta Story of the Boy.

Now the Peta story of the Boy. What is the occasion for it ?

At Sávatthi, they say, many lay disciples built a great pavilion for a religious assembly which was to be held. They adorned their structure with cloths of various colours and betimes invited the Teacher and the clergy, whom with the Buddha at their head they seated upon benches upon which were laid valuable and precious cushions. They honoured them with perfumes, flowers, and other things, and they practised alms-giving on a great scale.

A certain man, whose thoughts were possessed by the sin of avarice, saw this, but unable to put up with the festival, spoke as follows: "All this had better be thrown on the rubbish heap, and not given, I maintain, to these shavelings."

When the lay disciples heard this, they became excited, saying: "A serious sin, alas, has taken hold of this man by whom such wickedness was committed in the presence of the Buddha, in the congregation of the priests." They reported the affair to his mother and said: "Go to the assembly of his disciples and propitiate the Blessed One."

She consented with the words, "It is well," and after she had scolded and enjoined her son, she approached the Blessed One and the assembly of priests where she confessed the transgression committed by her son and begged for pardon. Then she made an offering of rice gruel for a week to the Blessed One and the Chapter of priests.

Her son died just a short time afterwards and was reborn as the offspring of a courtesan who made her living by her wicked trade. Immediately at the moment of his birth she recognized him as a boy and had him exposed in a graveyard. There he, taking refuge just in the strength of his own merit and not annoyed by any one, slept comfortably just as upon his mother's hip. They say that angels took care of him.

Then when the Blessed One, filled with great compassion, rose at dawn and with his Buddha-eye surveyed the world, he saw the boy abandoned in the charnel house and at sunrise went to the graveyard. A great multitude gathered together, saying: "The Teacher has come hither; it must be for some reason in this place."

The Holy One said to the assembled congregation: "This boy must not be despised, even if he was left deserted and forlorn in this burial place. But since his righteousness has even been

discerned into the future, he shall attain the highest success in time to come." Then he was asked by these men: "Now, Reverend Sir, what wicked deed was committed by this one in his previous existence?" The Buddha declared: "The people held a great festival in honour of the Chapter of priests with the Buddha at their head; in that matter his mind was differently disposed, and he uttered an unkind and sinful expression."

With this and other explanations he declared the deed which had been committed by that boy and the prosperity he was to attain in the future. To the assembled congregation he expounded righteousness according to his idea and further preached a most excellent sermon. At the conclusion of the truths, eighty-four thousand people were converted.

A householder, whose property amounted to eight hundred million, took the boy and said: "In the very presence of the Blessed one, it is my son." The Holy One went to the monastery with the words: "This boy has been taken in charge by such a great man and has become a help for many people."

At a subsequent time when that householder died, he obtained the wealth which was bequeathed by him. He established a family and became a very rich householder in that same city, and found pleasure in pious deeds of almsgiving and other acts. Then one day the priests in their religious assembly had a discussion in which they remarked:

"Ah, surely the Teacher is compassionate to men; this same youth also, who some time ago was a forlorn child, now enjoys great prosperity in all details and performs noble and good deeds."

The Teacher heard this and explained: "Monks, he does not have such great prosperity, you must know; but verily at the end of this life he shall be reborn in the Távatimsa heaven as the son of Sakka, king of the gods, and he shall attain great heavenly bliss."

When the priests and the multitude had heard that and had learned the event as reported, how the far-sighted Holy One assisted that youth by going thither to him there he had been cast into the charnel house of unburied bodies immediately at the moment of his birth, they praised the Teacher's excellence of knowledge and narrated his activity in this affair. This matter the redactors of the Holy Scriptures illuminate in the six following stanzas:

1. Of a wonderful nature is the Buddha's knowledge, as we note in the manner that the Holy One expounded man: "Though

some have extensive righteousness, yet others, to be sure, have limited merit."

2. This youth abandoned in a burial place passed the night in the enjoyment of his thumb; not would spirits nor reptiles injure the boy who had accomplished good deeds; the dogs too licked his feet; the crows and jackals made their rounds about him.

3. Flocks of birds removed the filth of the womb, but the crows took the excretion from his eyes. There were no people who established protection for him or provided him with medicine or mustard fumigation.

4. Not did they learn even the moon's conjuction with the lunar mansion; not all the grains either did they scatter over such a one who had received the greatest misfortune in being brought at night and cast into the charnel house.

5. He who is worshipped by gods and men saw him trembling like a lump of butter, in a precarious condition, with some life remaining; and when the One of great wisdonm had seen him, he declared: "This boy on account of his money will become the foremost householder of this city."

PIOUS LAYMEN. 6. "Whose religious vow is this? Now what pious act is this? Why does this performer of good deeds suffer this punishment? Since a misfortune of such a nature has befallen him, he shall individually enjoy such prosperity."

Now the way in which the Blessed One explained, as he was fed by the lay disciples, is made clear by the editors of the Holy Scriptures:

7. "The people did great honour to the Chapter of the monks with the Buddha at their head. On that occasion this one had a different opinion; he uttered a harsh and sinful expression.

8. "Since he had dispelled this thought and afterwards obtained joy and peace of mind, for a week he supported with rice gruel the Buddha as he dwelt at Jetavana.

9. "His is this religious vow; now his is this pious act. For this performance of good deeds, this is the result. Since a misfortune of such a nature has befallen him, he shall individually enjoy such prosperity.

10. "He remaining here in this world for a century and provided with all pleasures, at the dissolution of his body in the future goes to companionship with Vásava (Indra)."

FIRST MAIL COACH IN ASIA.

The Colombo-Kandy "Royal Mail."

By D. P. E. HETTIARACHCHI.

"With rattling springs, and reeking crocks,
Piled up with mail bags on the box,
The (Kandy) coach now comes in sight,
Raising the dust as it jingles along,
Clearing a path thro' the motley throng."

Few portions of the British territories have developed lines of communication with so rapid a progress as Ceylon. Sir Emerson Tennent says "no portion of British India can bear comparison with Ceylon, either in the extent or the excellence of its means of communication."[1] Yet it is curious to reflect that over a century ago the greater part of the country was covered by thick forests, in which the elephant, the cheetah, and the bear roamed undisturbed. There was not a single road of any extent, save a few pathways which were the same as are given in some of the *Sandesa* Poems.[2]

The two routes which were taken from Trincomalie and Colombo to Kandy, by Boyd and Macdowal respectively, and which are indicated in a table of roads of the period given by Percival totally disappeared in less than twelve nonths after they had been opened, and we find that Captain Johnston had to employ guides to show him the road, and the guides themselves lost their way.[3] As regards bridges, there were none. All the rivers were forded by means of floating platforms made of heavy timber, or canoes. The latter were so small that Europeans were loth to use them.[4] Over rivulets, however, the Sinhalese constructed cane bridges, one of which Cordiner describes as "one of the most curiously

1. Ceylon, Vol. II. p. 121.

2. Cordiner, writing in 1807, says "strictly speaking there are no roads in the Island." See Vol. I. p. 15. Mr. Denham in his *Census Review* for 1911 (p. 5), says "in the time of the Kandyan kings orders were issued by the king that no one should presume on pain of death to cut any roads through the impassable forests, wider than was sufficient for one person to pass."

3. Marshall's *Conquest of Ceylon*, p. 264.

4. 'And for that reason,' says Thunberg, 'they used three boats tied together, and covered them with planks so as to form a floating bridge.'—Thunberg's *Travels*, p. 192.

constructed and most picturesque which could be conceived. The principal part of it was suspended by withes from the boughs of large trees."[5]

How little an idea can modern travellers have of what the difficulties of travelling in Ceylon must have been in the *ante*-road period, when one had to trudge days and days, with great personal inconvenience, over scraggy rocks, precipices and ravines, or had to be conveyed by palanquins, in which the traveller was carried over hot and trackless wastes on the shoulders of over-wearied men.[6] A very correct impression of the toil of travelling in those days may be gathered from *An Account of the Interior of Ceylon*, by Dr. John Davy, M.D., F. R. S., who was on the Medical Staff of the army in Ceylon from 1816-1820.[7]

Though the Governors North and Brownrigg could not effect any improvements to the then existing lines of communication during the periods of their rule[8]—a great portion of which was spent in warfare and in organising a system of Government,—it fell to the lot of their successor, Sir Edward Barnes,

> "The best, the greatest on the roll
> Of those who here Vice-regal sway
> Have held since that eventful day
> When Lanka's line of Sovereigns closed."[9]

He perceived "that the sums annually wasted on hill-forts and garrisons in the midst of wild forests, might, with judicious expenditure, be made to open the whole country by military roads, at once securing and enriching it. Before the close of his administration, he had the happiness of witnessing the realisation of his policy; and of leaving every radius of the diverging lines, which he had planned, either wholly or partially completed."[10] One of those roads which were marvels of engineering skill and which, valuable in a military sense, were invaluable in opening up the country to industrial enterprise which it spread over the hills,

5. A view of the bridge is also given by Cordiner, Vol. II. p. 292.

6. According to *Government Gazette* of May 11, 1814, Sir Robert Brownrigg made a tour round the Island in a one-horse chaise. He left Colombo on February 28, 1814 and proceeded by Arippu, Jaffna, Trincomalie to Batticaloa which was reached on April 30.

7. Mr. J. P. Lewis' article on "Some Vehicles of Ceylon," appearing in the X'mas Number of *Times of Ceylon*, 1920, gives an interesting account of the wheeled traffic at this period;

8. Governor North is said to have ordered a survey of the existing lines of communication with a view to improvement. After the rebellion of 1817 had been quelled, Governor Brownrigg resolved to penetrate, by a military road, to the heart of the mountain region.

9. W. Skeen's *Knuckles*, pp. 80-81.

10. Tennent, Vol. II. p. 121.

was the Colombo—Kandy Road (72 miles), which has been rightly called " the Simplon of the East."[11]

On this road, it may be mentioned, ran the Royal Mail Coach, the first postal and passenger vehicle of the kind established in India, and (according to that eminent journalist and litterateur, the late Mr. A.M. Ferguson, C.M.G.), in the whole of Asia.[12]

Lest we soon forget an institution which for a period not far short of thirty-six years did good service to the Colony, especially in carrying up the country " the shoals of planters and loads of specie which have converted the once deadly and dangerous Kandian forests—in which British soldiers perished like rotten-sheep—into healthy and fruitful gardens,"[13] it may be worth while putting on record its history.

His Excellency Sir Robert Wilmot Horton, whose administration was distinguished by the liberality of the measures devised and carried out, finding Sir Edward Barnes' great road made to his hand, encouraged the establishment of a Coach by a Joint Stock Company. In December, 1831, it was therefore proposed that two light four-wheeled carriages should run daily between Colombo and Kandy, and the following prospectus was issued :—

" It is proposed that two light 4 wheeled carriages shall run daily, between Kandy and Colombo, one leaving Colombo at 4 a.m., and the other leaving Kandy at the same hour every morning. The journey to be performed in about 14 hours from Colombo to Kandy, and in 12 hours from Kandy to Colombo.

" The carriage is intended to carry the mail, and light parcels. No luggage allowed.

" It is proposed that a sufficient number of horses shall be ready at each station for the private carriages of travellers. This, however, will depend upon the future demand; the present object being the establishment of a public carriage.

" The capital required for this undertaking (calculated at £2,000) is to be raised by shares of £50 each. The undertaking will not commence until this sum has been subscribed, which has been calculated to be sufficient to defray the estimated cost of the outfit £570, and also the expenditure for the first year, estimated at £1,065. These sums, with £365 for wear and tear, will amount to £2,000, the sum it is proposed to raise.

" The income, including the sum granted by Government for carrying the Mail, is estimated at £1,835, leaving a surplus of £405 to be divided among the Shareholders.

11. The road was commenced in 1820 and completed in 1825. This, of course, did not include the permanent bridging, draining and gravelling of the road, which was not finally perfected before 1833. Major Skinner in his evidence before the Public Works Dept., Commission states that metalling of the road was commenced in 1841.

12. Souvenirs of Ceylon, p. 160.

13. *Ibid*, p. 160

"The entire management of the concern to be vested in a committee of 5 persons, viz : 3 at Colombo, one at Kandy, and one at an intermediate station on the road. The accounts to be balanced and laid before the shareholders, once every year by the committee, but a majority of the shareholders may demand a statement of their affairs at the end of every quarter.

"Tickets for seats and for post horses to be procured; and parcels received and booked at the Post Offices of Colombo and Kandy. Tickets for intermediate distances will also be issued by proper persons on the road.

"As an undertaking of so extensive a nature will require some time for its complete arrangement, it is in contemplation to establish a one-horse carriage, as soon as possible, for the accommodation of the public. Of this, due notice will be given in the *Gazette*.

"Government will guarantee to the shareholders the conveyance of the Mail for 5 years, provided that the letters during that period be carried at the rate now fixed.

"Government will receive £30 per annum in lieu of all tolls from the mail carriages, but if at the end of any one year the average profit of all the preceding years should exceed 7 per cent. upon the capital subscribed, a sum equal to the established tolls will be paid to the Government until the profits fall below 7 per cent."[14]

His Excellency Sir Wilmot Horton with most of the Civil and Military servants of the Colony took shares in the Joint Stock Co., then formed, and, as one of the most interesting results from referring to the list of original shareholders is the roll of familiar names associated with the early British administration, we shall insert it here[15]:

	Shares	£		Shares	£
His Excellency the Governor	6	300	Kickwick	1	50
Sir J. Wilson ..	2	100	Dr. Kinnis	1	50
Hon. R. Boyd, Esq. ..	2	100	Mr. Power ½, Don Solomon Dias Modliar ½ ..	1	50
Hon. W. Granville, Esq.	1	50	Colonel Hamilton ..	1	50
Mr. Tufnell	4	200	Captain Schneider ..	1	50
„ Layard	1	50	Colonel Clifford ..	1	50
„ Anstruther ..	2	100	Captain Pearson ..	1	50
„ Wright ..	1	50	Mr. Armour	1	50
„ Brownrigg ..	1	50	„ Vanderwick ..	1	50
„ Wilmot ..	1	50	C. De Saram Modliar and others	1	50
„ Turnour ..	1	50	Mutusamy	1	50

14. *Ceylon Literary Register*, Vol. V, p. 392.
15. *Ibid.*

	Shares	£		Shares	£
Sergeant Davidson ..	2	100	C. Jayatileke Modliar and others	1	50
Captain Stannus ..	1	50	The 1st. and 2nd. Adigars	1	50
Dr. Forbes	1	50	3rd Adigar and other Chiefs	1	50

In the *Ceylon Almanack* of 1834 we observe that the following gentlemen then composed the Committee of Management of the Kandy Coach :—

Dr. Forbes	Capt. Pearson
Col. Hamilton	W. H. Rough, Esq.
Hon. Geo. Turnour	Lieut. Atchison
H. Tufnell, Esq.	Capt. Parke, *Sec.* and *Treasr.*

Clerks :—Mr. Van Twest, Colombo; Mr. Keith, Kandy.

The following instructions were issued by the Committee to be strictly observed by the drivers of the Coach :—

1. The harness, horses' shoes, and linch pins, must be carefully inspected by the driver before he mounts the box, and also on arriving at each station, before the horses are put into the stable.
2. The driver must on no account leave the box to attempt to drive from any other part of the carriage.
3. The coach must never be driven at a rate exceeding 6 miles an hour.
4. Whenever there are no passengers, an extra coachman or horsekeeper must always accompany the driver.
5. The drivers are on no account to take up any person on the road, who may not be provided with a ticket.
6. Drivers are strictly prohibited from receiving any gratuity from passengers, they being amply paid by the proprietors.
7. Any driver found drunk or misconducting himself in any way will be dismissed on the spot, and forfeit all pay due to him from the establishment."[16]

Hardly two months elapsed since the idea of establishing a Mail Coach was first originated when the whole scheme was put into active operation. On 1st February, 1832, a light four-wheeled carriage drawn by one horse started from Colombo to Mahahena (a distance of about 37¼ miles), whence it returned to Colombo, and here are the editorial comments on the event appearing in the *Colombo Journal* of February, 4th., 1832 :—

"So the *Mail Coach* has at last started, and the road to the interior is now opened to anyone who can muster 9 shillings; in

16. *Colombo Journal*, 1832. p. 44.

this scheme at all events, we have taken the lead of all India, and shown what energy and perseverance may effect in introducing English manners and customs into this remote quarter of the globe.

"We are sure that our readers will join wish us in congratulating the Proprietors and Managers on the successful result of their efforts; the practicability of the scheme may now be considered as proved; we understand that the distance to Mahahena, 37¼ miles, has been performed in 6 hours, and the Kandy mails are in consequence delivered full 3 hours earlier than had been the case before. As the coach starts at 4, no sun as far as Mahahena, and the carriage being well provided with lamps, but little danger can ensue from the darkness of the night, particularly as the coachman must soon become perfectly well acquainted with the road. We have authority for stating that it is intended to continue the establishment along the whole road to Kandy, as soon as horses can be procured and the stables erected, and hopes are entertained that in the course of a few weeks the whole will be completed. As everything that has as yet been done meets with our fullest approbation—and *dimidium facti, qui bene coepit, habet*,—it remains with the public to show whether they are disposed to encourage so novel an establishment."

In July, 1832, the daily carriage to Mahahena was discontinued and, instead of it, the Mail Coach ran the whole distance to Kandy 3 times a week. It started on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays from Colombo, and Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays from Kandy, leaving the coach office in Colombo precisely at 5 a.m. and the Office at Kandy at 4 a.m. One hour was allowed for bath and breakfast at Mahahena "Royal Hotel," which was opened under the superintendence of the Committee for managing the Mail Coach and which laid in a large stock of everything necessary for the convenience and refreshment of travellers.

Passengers fares and parcel rates were as follows[17]:—

	Fares. £	s.	d.
"From Colombo to Kandy:			
Inside Seats	2	0	0
Driver's Seat	1	10	0
From Colombo or Kandy to Mahahena:			
Inside Seats	1	0	0
Driver's Seat	0	15	0
From Colombo to Utuankanda:			
Inside Seats	1	15	0
Driver's Seat	1	5	0
From Utuankanda to Kandy and vice versa:			
Inside Seats	0	6	0
Driver's Seat	0	5	0

17. *Colombo Journal*, July 7, 183

No charge will be made for any passenger's luggage not exceeding 5 lbs. Any weight over that will be charged for at the rate of 2d. per lb.

Parcels.

From Colombo to Kandy.	£	s.	d.
Not exceeding 2 lbs.	0	0	6
Above 2 and not exceeding 4lbs. ..	0	1	0
„ 4 „ „ 8 „ ..	0	1	6
„ 8 „ „ 12 „ ..	0	2	0

All parcels exceeding the above weight 2d. per lb.

From Colombo or Kandy to Mahahena and intermediate stations

Not exceeding 2 lbs.	0	0	6
Above 2 and not exceeding 4 lbs. ..	0	0	9
„ 4 „ „ 8 „ ..	0	1	0

All parcels exceeding the above weight 1½d. per lb."

It may not be uninteresting to follow the Mail-Coach route from the Maritime Capital to that of the interior. From Colombo to the Bridge of Boats[18] across the Kelani-ganga, the distance is 3¼ miles. To Mahara, where there was a Rest House, 5 miles. To the Mail Coach station of Kosruppe, 6½ miles. Thence to the rest-house at Henaratgoda, 2 miles. To Kalagedihena, Mail-coach station, about 5 miles. To Veyangoda rest-house, 3 miles. To Weweldeniya (Mail-Coach station), about 4¾ miles. To Ambepussa[19] rest-house, 6½ miles. To the mail-coach station of Ambanpitiya, through Mahahena, 9¼ miles. To Utuankanda[20] rest-house and mail-coach station, 8½ miles. To Kadugannawa[21] rest-house, about 7 miles. To Peradeniya, 6¼ miles, and thence to Kandy, 4 miles.

Major Forbes, in his *Eleven Years in Ceylon*, hails joyfully the era of the coach in these terms:—

"From Colombo I returned to Kandy by the mail-coach, and remarked the immense improvement that had taken place in the face of the country near the great road which was opened under the government of Sir Edward Barnes. When I first visited Kandy in 1828, this line was unfinished; and the numerous obstacles which had been overcome, or were in progress of removal, could not

18. The Bridge of Boats was constructed in 1822 by Lt. Genl. Fraser. It carried the whole of the Kandy Road traffic for 73 years, till it was replaced in 1895 by the Victoria Bridge for a view of this bridge see Ferguson's *Souvenirs of Ceylon*, p. 16.

19. Tennent calls this place "one of those treacherously beautiful spots which have acquired a bad renown from the attractions of the scenery and the pestilent fevers by which the locality is infested."—Vol. II. p. 183.

20. At one time the haunt of the notorious bandit Sardiel and his henchman, Mamalay Marikar. It is said that Sardiel used to turn back the Mail coach. In consequence of this an expedition was sent against him, which led to his capture on 21st March, 1864, by Mr. F. R. Saunders, the then Asst. Govt. Agent of Kegalla.

21. The road here passes through "scenery which combines the grandeur of the Alps with the splendour of tropical vegetation."

22. Bennet's *Ceylon*, p. 172.

be overlooked: The rock which had been blasted, the embankments that had been raised, were then bare; and the forests through which we passed showed how much of energy and perseverance was required to trace the road which was then forming. Now these obstacles would hardly be credited by any one who had not previously seen the country; for the shattered rocks and huge embankments were overgrown with vegetation, and the dense forest had almost disappeared from the vicinity of the road. In place of the rumbling ford and ferry of the Maha-oya, we crossed an elegant bridge at Mawanella, the design of Captain, now Lieut.-Col., Brown, R.E., and, instead of the clumsy ferry-boat at Peradeniya, a light and elegant arch of satin-wood, two hundred and five feet in length, spanned the Mahaweli-ganga."[23]

Sir Edward Barnes and family, whilst on a visit to the Island in March 1834,[24] went up to Kandy by the Mail Coach; and Sir Wilmot Horton, at a dinner given in honour of Sir Edward at the Race-stand on the Galle Face (Colombo), is reported to have said that he had the pleasure of travelling with Sir Edward Barnes in the mail to Kandy and witnessed the delight with which he viewed the perfection of the road and those bridges, of which he himself had been the projector—undertakings, not only great in themselves, but also of vast importance, the keystone to commerce and prosperity of the Island, as mainly contributing to a development of its internal resources.[25]

The Coach consisted of a sort of 'family Bandy,' or, as this kind of nondescript conveyance was designated, a 'Sigrum Po,' which carried four besides the driver, and one outside and was drawn by two horses.[26] And here, perhaps, it may not be unacceptable to have an extract from Sirr's *Ceylon and the Cingalese*, that may serve as a general representation of the Mail Coach.

"The Royal Mails in Ceylon," he says, "are placed upon four wheels, and look like—what? nothing to be seen in Europe now, but the vehicles have a slight affinity with, and bear a faint resemblance to, the lower half of an antiquated English stage coach, cutting off the upper half, and detaching the doors. The seat for the driver is attached to the coach, so that his back, and those of the passengers on the front seat, touch. The roof is made of leather, painted white and varnished, lined with cotton, and supported

23. Vol. II. pp. 192 & 193.

24. In 1831 Sir Edward Barnes left Ceylon for India to assume the office of Commander-in-Chief, but in 1834 he threw the post up from difference of opinion which sprang up with the civil authorities. Skinner's *Fifty Years in Ceylon*. p. 187.

25. *Colombo Observer*, 11-3.1834.

26. A drawing of the Kandy Coach in the sixties appeared in the X'mas number of the *Times of Ceylon* for 1922.

by four slender iron rods, which shake with every jolt of the coach. To this roof, leathern curtains are hung, which can be either drawn to protect the passenger from the sun or rain, or rolled up to admit a free passage to the air. The roof of this antediluvian production projects over the driving seat thus covering seven persons, namely, the passengers in the body of the conveyance, the driver, and whoever may be seated at his side, and the horsekeeper, who indiscriminately perches himself on the top of the luggage, stands on the fixed protruding iron step or clings to any part of the vehicle most convenient to seize hold of."[27]

The coachmen employed in the early days of the Coach seem to have been Englishmen, though the Malays were sometimes allowed to drive. The Sinhalese having very little idea of the horse, the horsekeepers were recruited from the coast with such results that Mr. J. P. Lewis remarks: "The Sinhalese want of capacity in everything connected with the horse still remains a characteristic of that race, but the Tamil horsekeeper has progressed, and he is now allowed to drive, sometimes with disastrous results, but usually with safety."[28]

In the old coach days residents at any distance from the coach offices had to be up at the small hours of the morning in order to be in time for the Coach, and it not infrequently happened that the passengers were put to much inconvenience owing to the lack of punctuality on the part of coachmen. The reader may here be treated with a Pickwickian description of a scene in a Coach-office given by the writer above quoted:

"We reach the office," says Sirr, "the door of which is closed, the dim light of a cocoa-nut oil lamp is seen glimmering through the crevices of the portal. Not a sound is heard from within the dwelling; all are, or appear to be, buried in sleep, and the Coach also is in a state of tranquillity, snugly ensconced in the verandah. and under the vehicle are comfortably reposing two natives. These sacrifices to the drowsy god are regarded by us as personal insults, especially as we have abridged our matinal slumbers, for the sake of not keeping the Coach waiting for us. Exasperated beyond endurance, we batter the house-door lustily for two or three minutes, which at last is opened by a yawning Cingalese, with hair streaming over his shoulders, who inquires in a sleepy tone: 'What master want?' 'Want, eh? That's too good. Why is not the coach ready that was to have called for us at gun-fire?' The coachmaster, being aroused by these noises, comes forth from his sleeping apartment, and with many apologies, orders the Coach to be pre-

27. Vol. 1. pp. 22 & 23.
28. *Ceylon in Early British Times*, p. 21.

pared forthwith, calling loudly for the horsekeepers. These gentlemen are still revelling in the arms of Morpheus under the Coach, and, despite the reiterated shouts of their master, continue to dose. Finding words useless, and patience exhausted, physical force is resorted to, and, by dint of sundry manipulations in the region of the ribs, the dormant faculties of the horsekeepers are aroused, and orders being given in some unintelligible Jargon (to us), away they start in quest of the horses; the master assisting the remaining awakened domestics to pull the Coach out of the verandah."[29]

When the coach was first started by the enterprising gentlemen, it was horsed by selections from the local market, the maximum price for a horse being fixed at £25. In these circumstances the stable thus got together formed a 'Cave of Adullam' for Ceylon horses, for the discarded hack, the cast trooper and vicious nags were enlisted in the service. Startling incidents of a journey by coach are recorded by many a traveller. There was generally a change of horses at every eight or nine miles, and of the eight pairs that a traveller used to sit behind in a single journey, no one pair could be pronounced steady. Either they bit, or they kicked, or they jibbed, or they stood on their hind legs, or sat down upon them.

One pair, according to that amusing writer on Ceylon, Lieut. de Butts, stood fast when "the most approved mode was to attach a long rope to one of the fore legs of the refractory charger, and having beat up for volunteers amongst the natives, to haul away upon the same; while one party thus engaged the enemy in front, another detachment vexed his rear with such missiles and weapons as happened to be at hand."[30]

Sir Guilford Molesworth, at one time the Director-General of the Railway and Director of Public Works of Ceylon, in his interesting article entitled "Ceylon in the Sixties," which appeared in the X'mas number of the *Times of Ceylon* for 1922, speaking of the coach horses, says that "in some cases a fire had to be lighted under them, which, in one case, induced them to move on only a few feet, with the result that the Coach was burned."

And it is said that when once these horses were got to start the sole object of the driver seemed to have been in those 'good old days' to keep them galloping at full speed till they had performed their stage. If the Coach was badly horsed, the horses were so badly treated that a writer on Ceylon feelingly remarks that "more gross ignorance in the management of the noble animal itself, and more wilful cruelty, I never saw practised. In England I should have had the greatest satisfaction in handing over every

29. *Ceylon and the Cingalese*, Vol. I, pp 20 & 21.
30. *Rambles in Ceylon*, 1841, p 110.

driver and horsekeeper that drove and abused the horses during the ten or twelve stages from Colombo to Kandy, to the 'Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals,' and I should have done so with a perfect confidence in their conviction."[31]

En passant, it may here be mentioned that another writer says "it is amusing to hear the remarks of the horsekeepers along the road upon the horses which bear the names of the persons from whom they were bought.—There are for instance Turnour, Wodehouse, Saunders, Lee, &c., which afford a fine scope for satire."[32]

Apropos of our subject it may be recorded for general information that a Bullock Mail, believed to be the first of its kind, was established by Mudaliyar Perera of Mahara in July, 1840. It ran between Colombo and Kandy for upwards of 6 months, leaving Colombo every second evening at 5 o'clock, and arrived at Kandy about 1 p.m. the next day; and leaving Kandy the same evening, returned to Colombo the next afternoon. It was somewhat of the same model as the Horse-mail and carried three passengers with the driver, and was drawn by single bullocks, which ran four-mile stages.[33]

"Competition is the soul of business," and accordingly we find that no sooner was it first rumoured in 1843, that another Horse-coach was about to start between Colombo and Kandy, than the proprietors of the Royal Mail resolved upon starting a Coach every day both ways, and about this time they commenced importing coaches built to order in London, while they procured their horses from Bombay and Australia.[34] Nothing daunted, however, the new Company which consisted of Messrs. J. C. Orloff (Manager), J. P. Wolff, J. De Fransz, Jamsetjee Jamasjee, C. F. Fernando, B. Sapoorjee, and Misses M. C. Orloff and P. Wolff, established a rival coach called the "Kandy Commercial Coach" on 31st July, 1843. This Coach, however, did not continue to run longer than $2\frac{1}{2}$ years. The traffic proved insufficient for the support of two Coaches, and moreover, the "Commercial" did not secure the Government subsidy for carrying the mails, and in consequence had to pay all tolls. The Company quickly collapsed. The concern was purchased by the Royal Mail Company for £670, and the old "Royal Mail Coach" was left undisputed master of the situation.[35]

31. Sullivan's *Bungalow and Tent*, p. 44.
32. Trip to Kandy by Mr. Jones—see *Colombo Observer*, 5. 8. 1841.
33. *Colombo Observer*, 21. 9. 1840.
34. *Ibid*, 16. 2. 1843.
35. *Ibid*, 13. 4. 1846.

It is said that later attempts to establish a rival Coach shared the same fate.

In 1847, Captain W. T. Layard purchased all the shares and became the sole proprietor of the Coach. In 1857, Capt. (later Colonel) Byrde and Col. Layard became the owners of the establishment, and they again transferred it to a Company in 1860.

In 1862, a second Coach or Night Mail commenced to run, and just before the Railway to Ambepussa was opened, the Colombo and Kandy Coach was in its prime, well-horsed and well-driven.

In view of the change from Coach to Railway which the 1st of August, 1867, marked, the proprietors of the Kandy Coach sold the stock and good-will for the sum of £2,600 to the proprietors of the Galle Coach.

Lastly we may state that, with all the grand equestrian exhibitions which the passengers enjoyed in those days, there were very few accidents to the Coach. There are on record but three or four serious accidents, and in these not a single life was lost. We suppose this result was due principally to the moderate pace at which the Coaches were driven.

In this sketch of the first Mail Coach started in Asia, we have not only endeavoured to rescue from oblivion an institution made obsolete by the introduction of the Railways to Ceylon, but also to get together the information regarding it which has hitherto been scattered.



WHEN NORTH WAS GOVERNOR.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired.)

A book published in 1920, *Memoirs of the Arbuthnots of Kinkardineshire and Aberdeenshire*, by Mrs. P. S. M. Arbuthnot gives us a glimpse of Colombo as it was under the first British Governor, the Hon. Frederic North, after he had been at the head of the administration of the Colony for three years.

The Arbuthnots.

For two scions of the Arbuthnot family had been selected by him for appointment to posts in that administration; one of them kept a Diary, and that Diary is in possession of the grandson of the diarist, Mr. P. S. M. Arbuthnot. The book has been compiled by the wife of the latter. It contains several extracts from the Diary.

The Hon. Frederic North, as soon as he had, to his great relief, got rid of Hugh Cleghorn as Chief Secretary, nominated for that appointment another Scotchman, Robert Arbuthnot, a son of Robert Arbuthnot (Second) of Haddo, Rattray. Thereupon the new Chief Secretary, after the manner of his countrymen, bethought himself of his relatives, and applied for the appointment of a younger brother, George, as Deputy Secretary. This, through "Mr. North's kindness," he obtained, and as George remarks in a letter dated 1st October, 1801, "it is of all others that which I like the best, and in which (if I do not flatter myself) I may be of most use."

The brothers went out to Ceylon by the East Indiaman, the *Henry Dundas*, named after the Secretary of State, and arrived at Colombo on the 10th of September, 1801. George, who seems to have had the more active mind of the two, kept a Diary during the voyage and after, and from it we learn that, awaiting their arrival, "several gentlemen were standing on the Beach, one of whom who I afterwards found to be Mr. Fraser, the Accountant-General, took me to his house, and then carried me in his Gig to the Governor's Country House, about two miles from

the town." This "Country House" must have been the Governor's "Villa" at Hulftsdorp, described by Cordiner. Mr. Thomas Fraser of the Madras Civil Service had been Civil Auditor and Accountant-General since 1799, but he returned to Madras at the end of 1801 or beginning of 1802, and was succeeded in the former post by either James Scott Hay or Samuel Tolfrey, both of whom had arrived in the same ship as the Arbuthnots, and in the latter by Robert Boyd who arrived four months later by the *Manship*, which brought to the shores of Ceylon the ill-starred Major Davie, Chief Justice Sir C. E Carrington, Mr. Justice Edmund Henry Lushington, and another batch of civilians.

Here it may be remarked that in the *Henry Dundas*, besides the two Arbuthnots, there were about a dozen "Civil Servants and Writers," of all ages from sixteen to double that age—George Arbuthnot was 29—and that among them were Alexander Wood, who became Sir Alexander Wood, one of Sir Thomas Maitland's favourite officials in the Levant, and John D'Oyly, the first Resident of Kandy, orientalist and baronet. But George Arbuthnot, who was in their company for months on the voyage, never mentions one of them in his diary.

Robert Arbuthnot was the bearer of a despatch from the Hon. Henry Dundas to Governor North on the subject of the qualifications of these candidates for the Ceylon Civil Service, and of the remainder of them who were to follow by the *Manship*, and he seems to have gone first to the Secretariat, but did not succeed in finding the Governor there. But George had better luck, for the Governor was at home and received him "with much kindness," and he "remained *tête-a-tête* with him for about four hours," before his brother arrived, who "was soon followed by Mr. Tolfrey and his son." Both Samuel Tolfrey and his son, Edward, had been fellow passengers of the Arbuthnots, but there does not seem to have been any co-operation between the Arbuthnots themselves or between them and the Tolfreys in their arrangements for getting out to the Governor at his country house.

Robert Arbuthnot had a short and uneventful career in Ceylon. He became, in addition to Chief Secretary, a Judge of the Lesser Court of Appeal, and on the embodiment on 8th March, 1803, of the "Colombo Militia," Major Commandant. He accompanied

the Governor to the Pearl Fishery of 1802, and after it on his tour to Jaffna, Point Pedro, Trincomalee, Mullaittivu, through the Vanni to Chilaw, and thence back to Colombo. He was with him too on his tour through the Seven Korales at the end of April, 1803, which ended in the interview with Pilame Talawwa at Dambadeniya which nearly had a tragic ending. He retired exactly five years after his arrival in Ceylon, to an oblivion which even *Memoirs of the Arbuthnots* has failed to dispel.

His younger brother had all the shrewdness with which the Scotch are usually credited, and also, as appears from his subsequent career, great business capacity. He writes to his friend: "The salary attached to my office is £1,000 a year, of which I think I shall be able to save one-half, but I must endeavour to lay up something more." He was not however satisfied with his prospects and was looking about "to see if there were any trade that might be carried on to advantage, and I have been attracted by one which I think might be managed without any impropriety in my present situation." He goes on to describe "the prospects of a trade in gold with the Coast of Coromandel." For at this time gold was extremely rare in Ceylon, the currency being entirely of copper and, for large sums, paper. "If gold coins were obtained in Coromandel, they could be diposed of in Ceylon at a considerable premium," and this traffic appeared to him as "both simple and lucrative."

To embark on it he wanted a sum of £2,000, and he suggested that this sum be advanced to him by the friend to whom he was writing, J. Trotter of the firm of bankers, Coutts and Co. It may be noted here that there was a connection between the North and Coutts families, for the Hon. Frederic's elder brother, the then Earl of Guildford, married a daughter of Mr. Thomas Coutts. But Mr. Trotter does not seem to have responded with the alacrity that was expected of him; for in little more than a year, George Arbuthnot, although he had considerably exceeded his estimate of possible savings, and had managed to save £700 out of his salary of £1,000, which, he thinks, was "pretty well" (letter dated 3rd January, 1803), accepted an appointment in Lauton & Co., Madras Bankers. He left Ceylon for Madras in October, 1802, on a visit, presumably to make arrangements for taking up his new post.

He returned to Colombo on 9th February, and resigned the Ceylon Civil Service on 20th April, 1803.

His visit to Madras was made in company with John Angus, who had been about six months longer in the Civil Service than himself and who apparently resigned it at the same time, for Angus did not return to Ceylon. Angus's appointment at this time was that of Sitting Magistrate of the Pettah in which he had succeeded the Corsican, Anthony Bertolacci, only about two months before. They made the voyage to Madras in a brig called the *Calcutta*.

The next twenty years of George Arbuthnot's life were spent at Madras, where he founded the firm of Arbuthnot & Co., which has ever since, I believe, been associated with that city. He acted there as Agent for the Ceylon Government. He married at Madras on 26th April, 1810, Eliza, daughter of Donald Fraser, solicitor, of Inverness. He made so much money that in 1824 he purchased the Surrey property of Elderslie in the parish of Ockley, and rebuilt and enlarged the house. He died there on 3rd November, 1843, in his 71st year.

The few passages in his Diary and letters relating to Ceylon are interesting as relating to the first decade of British rule. He describes the

Colombo Bungalow

of the time.—

"A house is a long strip of building consisting of a suite of rooms communicating one with another, and each Room has also a door of communication to the Verandah or Long Gallery, which extends the whole length of the building on both sides, and which, although sheltered from the rain, admits the wind on all sides, and gives thorough drafts of air to all the apartments. These verandahs are supported by clumsy wooden posts, but had they been built by Italians instead of Dutch architects, there would probably be Tuscan or Doric columns."

This is the typical Dutch bungalow of the Pettah or Galle or Jaffna, but the Deputy Secretary was evidently bitten with the prevailing taste for classical architecture, or he would not have been so severe on the neat wooden pillars which are an appropriate feature of the tropical Dutch style, or wished to replace them with

the plastered sham "Tuscan or Doric columns" which succeeded them under the British.

But there was one good point about the Colombo Bungalows, their coolness.

"The houses in Colombo are the strangest looking, unfurnished and unfinished places that can be imagined, but they are extremely well contrived for coolness." But there were no 'up-stairs' bungalows (to use the Ceylon term).

"In the whole city of Colombo, there is only one house of two stories, which is inhabited by General Macdowall." This was probably the house at Grand Pass built by the last Dutch Governor, which overlooked the Kelani. But I think the General lived for a time at 'Government House' in the Fort, now St. Peter's Church. Perhaps Colombo tradition can say.

The Climate of Colombo.

This, strange to say, he praises. "In the morning there is a freshness in the air that is quite delightful, and although the heat during the day is generally greater than we have it in England, yet there are here so many precautions taken against it, that upon the whole I do not think one can feel so much oppressed as you do on a hot July day in our own Country." With regard to this conclusion one can only say that England or Scotland must have got much colder in the last 120 years!

He is very severe too on the

Regime of the Dutch Company.

"You cannot imagine anything equal to the Ignorance, Pride, Incapacity and Brutality of the late Government of this Country under the Hollanders. The whole system of their legislation was founded on the maxim 'Oppose the natives,' and to be sure, they acted up to that doctrine to its fullest extent. These enlightened Rulers had a particular dread that the natives wished to enjoy some of the Comforts of Life, such as Light, Air and Shelter, and when Mr. North first arrived he received petitions from various quarters to grant permission to make windows in the Houses and to roof them with Tiles instead of Leaves. His answer was that he granted the permission required, and hoped soon to see every House in the Island with Windows, and as many

of the owners as could bear the expence sheltered from the weather with Tiles, or in any manner the Petitioners might find to their taste and convenience; with which concession the Dutch Burghers were extremely scandalised. The Dutch Government had prohibited the people from making windows in their houses or tiling the roofs of them." Herein it copied the Kings of Kandy in the treatment of their subjects.

Governor North and his difficulties.

In a letter dated 17th September, 1802, addressed to Lord Glenberrie, George Arbuthnot remarks:

"Mr. North had many conflicting anxieties to disturb him. He had to deal with complaints from the Home Government, inefficiency and corruption among his staff, and many other difficulties."

Speaking of a letter which the Governor had recently received from Lord Hobart, who had wanted him to apply a "Geddes Axe" and had insisted on drastic economies in the administration of the Island, Arbuthnot says.—

"Although conveying an assurance of the King's continued approbation, and of general Compliment from his Lordship," (it is) "by no means a Sugar Plum." He adds:

"Notwithstanding that to his Lordship's observations on the general principle are joined some Retrenchments which cannot fail to be painful to Mr. North, yet I must say I am glad that Lord H. has been so explicit; and that he has put his Finger on particular objects rather than if he had made general complaint of our Extravagance; and not told us expressly in what points he thought us so."

After dealing with various complaints in Lord Hobart's letter, George Arbuthnot quotes 'Boyd' as saying that "the Governor, although as desirous to save the public Purse as any Man can be —and God knows, infinitely more so than he is to save his own— does not like to be preached Economy, either in the one or the other; nevertheless he has taken Lord Hobart's lecture on the subject fully as well ... could be expected, and I daresay his Lordship will have no cause to complain of his wishes being neglected."

Civil Service Retrenchments.

Arbuthnot goes on to detail some retrenchments Mr. North had written to propose to Lord Hobart a few days before his letter

arrived. A saving of £13,000 a year was proposed in the Civil Service charges, and after describing alterations suggested in the Revenue Board and the Supreme Court, he adds: "The Governor in his letter to Lord Hobart says that he will propose these Alterations and Reforms on the Civil Death of the present *Incumbents*."

The Boyds.

It is impossible to say now which of the two Boyds is intended—for there were two Boyd brothers as well as two Arbuthnots engaged in administering the affairs of the Colony,—whether it was Robert Boyd who had come out by the *Manship* and had succeeded Thomas Fraser as Civil and Military Accountant-General, or William Boyd, who had accompanied the Governor to Ceylon, had been his Private Secretary, had acted as Chief Secretary until relieved by Robert Arbuthnot and by George as Deputy Secretary; and was now Vice-Treasurer; but from his intimate knowledge of North's feelings on the subject of this despatch, it was probably the latter. The "Civil Deaths" that occurred before North relinquished his administration two years later were those of Thomas Fraser, John Angus and George Arbuthnot himself, but I do not know that any of their appointments were abolished.

Lord Glenberrie, it should have been explained, was Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and a brother-in-law of North.

More Arbuthnots.

In later times two more Arbuthnots came out to Ceylon. One was Lieutenant Colonel C. G. J. Arbuthnot, who was in command of one of the line regiments quartered in the Island in the Thirties—the 78th, the 58th, or the 97th,—and who left in 1837; and the other that distinguished Peninsular officer, Major-General Sir Robert Arbuthnot, K.T., K.C.B., who was in command of the troops from 1838 to 1843. He belonged to an Irish branch of the family.

HOATSON'S SINHALESE PRACTICE OF MEDICINE AND MATERIA MEDICA.

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY T. PETCH.

(Continued from Vol. VIII, Part III, Page 251.)

128. **Labu-kolla** *Cucurbita pepo*

["*Labu*" is a general term for gourds, etc. Moon cites eight "species" and six varieties of "*Labu*" in his *Sinhalese Catalogue*. Clough (p. 545) gives "*Labba*,—pumpkin gourd, long gourd; see *Labugediya*," and under the latter name, "*Labugediya*,—*Cucurbita pepo*." "*Diya labu*" is *Lagenaria vulgaris* Ser.; "*Ratu-labu*," *Cucurbita moschata*. None of our botanical lists gives a Sinhalese name for *Cucurbita Pepo L.*, which is not grown in the low-country. Hoatson, in the recipes, gives "*Labu*"—common pumpkin, by which he may mean *C. moschata*, *C. maxima*, or *Benincasa cerifera*. The last-named is the *Cucurbita Pepo* of Roxburgh.]

129. **Lapol mal** *Cocos nucifera*

["*La Pol mal*" is young or immature coconut flower. "*La*" =young or unripe; "*Pol*"=coconut. Hoatson in the recipes gives "*Lapol mal*" as *Artocarpus integrifolia*.]

130. **Lavenia-mool** *Lavenia erecta*

[*Lavenia erecta* Willd. is *Adenostemma viscosum* Forst.; neither Moon nor Trimen cites a Sinhalese name for this species. W. Ferguson, *in litt.* to Trimen, stated; "I once got from Kalutara, *Lavenia erecta* under *Lavenia* as its native name." The plant was recorded by Sherard (Ray, *Hist. Plant.*, III, 217), who edited Hermann's *Musaeum Zeylanicum*, as "Chrysanthemum zeylanicum *Lavenia* dictum."]

131. **Lunu** *Murias Sodae*

["*Lunu*,"—salt (Clough, p. 550). *Murias Sodae* is Sodium Chloride, common salt.]

132. **Maduru-kolla-isma** *Mentha sylvestris*

[*Mentha sylvestris* var. *crispa* is cultivated in Ceylon, and occurs as an escape from gardens: Moon gives the Sinhalese name

"*Boo-kapuru-tala.*" "*Maduru-tala*" is *Ocimum sanctum* L.; the leaves are used in cases of coughs and catarrh (Trimen): this is probably the plant intended.]

133. **Maele mal** *Bauhinia purpurea*

[*Bauhinia purpurea* is commonly grown in gardens (Trimen). Only Moon gives a Sinhalese name for it in botanical lists, viz. "*Kobo-neela*" (cf. 125). "*Mayila*" is given by Trimen, Ferguson, and Moon for *Bauhinia racemosa* Lam., while Thwaites gives the name of the same as "*Myla gass.*" Hoatson in the recipes, has "*Myila-dare.*" Clough, however, cites "*Maila,* corruptly for *Mayila,*—the mountain ebony, *Bauhinia purpurea*" (p. 500).]

134. **Magul-karanda-isma, etta,** and **mool** *Dalbergia arborea*

["*Magul-karanda*" is *Pongamia glabra* Vent., of which *Dalbergia arborea* is a synonym; the seeds afford an oil used in skin diseases (Trimen). See "*Karanda,*" No. 99.]

135. **Maha-root-katenne-potu-isma**

["*Ruk-attanna*" (see No. 195) is *Alstonia scholaris* Br. I have not met with "*Maha-ruk-attenne.*"]

136. **Mala boulat** A dried betel leaf

[Moon and Clough (p. 465) cite "*Malaboulat*" as a variety of *Piper Betle.*]

137. **Mandresti**

["*Maanjesty*" or "*Mandresti,*"—thick slices of some root (Ferguson). "*Manjishtha.*"—madder (Clough, p. 476). *Rubia cordifolia* Linn., the Indian madder.]

138. **Manosila** (Imported)

["*Manomasela,*" purchased by Ferguson, was described by him as a vermilion-red stone. "*Manosila*" is given by Clough as red arsenic. Ainslie gives "*Manahsila*" (Sans.), "*Manocillei*" (Tam.) as Realgar, or red orpiment (Ainslie, I, 499,501). W. H. Wright, in a list of drugs purchased in the Kandy Bazaar, 1862, recorded "*Manossela,*" as Realgar.]

139. **Massang-gaha**

["*Masan*" is the Portuguese name for *Zizyphus Jujuba* Lam.]

140. **Mi-itta** Bees' wax

["*Mi-iti,*"—bees' wax (Clough, p. 457). "*Mi-ettie,*"—wax (Ainslie, I, 470).]

141. **Mi-penni** *Mel apium*

["*Mipenni,*"—Honey (Clough, p. 456). "*Mee panney*" (Sinh.), —Honey (Ainslie, I, 172).]

142. **Mi-tel**

[" *Mi-tel*,"—oil of *Bassia longifolia* L. (Clough, p. 335)]

143. **Mi-wada** Honeycomb

[*Miwadaya*,"—Honey comb (Clough, p. 456).]

144. **Mini-iskabal** A piece of a human skull.

[" *Hiskabal*,"—a skull (Clough, p. 735). " *Mini*,"—Corpse; " *Minis*,"—human (Clough, p. 484).]

145. **Miris-kolla-isma** *Piper cubebo*

[Grown near habitations (Hoatson). If so, this cannot be cubebs, which were not grown in Ceylon until introduced in 1891 by the Botanic Gardens, to which the plant is practically still confined. Trimen gives ' *Miris*,' and " *Gam-miris-wel*," for *Piper nigrum*. Moon cites " *Miris* " as a name for Pepper or Chillies, of which he lists nine species and five varieties in his *Sinhalese Catalogue*. Clough (p. 485) also gives " *Miris* " as chillies or pepper in general. In Ferguson's lists, " *Walgamiris* " is given as cubebs (bought in the bazaar), but this is probably an error: " *Wal-gam-miris* " is *P. sylvestre* and *P. argyrophyllum*. Probably *Piper nigrum* is indicated.]

146. **Morunga-mool** *Hyperanthera moringa*

[" *Murunga* " is *Moringa pterygosperma* Gaertn., of which *Hyperanthera Moringa* is a synonym.]

147. **Mudira-palang-wael** *Vitis indica*

[" *Muddirappalam*,"—grapes (Clough). "*Muddrap-palam*,"—*Vitis vinifera*, Jaffna, cultivated, (Moon). For *Vitis indica* Trimen gives " *To-wel* " (Sinh.). *Vitis vinifera* would certainly not be accessible over the greater part of the Island, and in all probability Hoatson's interpretation is correct. The fruit of *V. indica* very much resembles that of the true grape vine, *V. vinifera*, but is bitter in taste (Trimen). Attygalle (p. 46) translates " *Muddrapalam* " as raisins.]

148. **Mudupenni** Salt taken from the sand on the sea side

["*Mudu pena*,"—cuttle-fish bone, considered to be the indurated foam of the sea (Clough, p. 732).]

149. **Mungala-alla**

[Clough (p. 450) gives " *Mangala* " as " bent grass with white blossoms, *Panicum dactylon*; white lotus, *Nelumbium speciosum*." It is not clear what is meant by the former; *Cynodon Dactylon* is used medicinally, but there does not appear to be any reason

why it should be described as having white blossoms. I am informed that "*Mungala alla*" is *Nelumbium speciosum*, but I have not been able to obtain anything under the name in the bazaar.

It may be noted that Hermann recorded "*Bangala*," with the note, "Radix transfertur ex Malacca in Zeylonam." According to a Mss. note by Trimen (who refers to L., Sp. II. p. 1468), "*Bangala*" is *Menispermum crispum* L.=*Tinospora crispa* Miers, the Sinhalese "*Tittakinda*," but this identification would not support Hermann's statement.]

150. **Murua-mool**

["*Muruwa dul*" is *Marsdenia tenacissima* Moon. Trimen recorded that the leaves were given as a remedy for flatulence. Clough (p. 49) gives "*Muruwa*" and "*Muruwa dul*" for this plant.]

151. **Na Mal** *Mesua ferrea*

["*Na*" is *Mesua ferrea* L.: "*Na-mal*," the dried flowers of *Mesua ferrea*, were purchased in the Bazaar by Ferguson.]

152. **Nataraan-mool** *Citrus medica*

["*Nataran*" is given by Trimen (*Hortus Zeylanicus*) for *Citrus medica*.]

153. **Navaritta-isma**

["? *Naparitta*,"—*Hibiscus furcatus* Roxb.]

154. **Nelung-alla** *Nymphaea flore albo*

["*Nelun*" is *Nelumbium speciosum* Willd. Ferguson bought the stems of *Nelumbium speciosum* under the name, "*Nelun dandu*."]

155. **Nerincha-alla**

[Hoatson says this was imported, cut into slices, in bags. "*Aet-nerinchi*" is *Pedalium Murex*, leaves used in medicine, and "*Sembui-nerinchi*" is *Tribulus terrestris*, also used in medicine, but chiefly the fruit (Trimen; Moon). Ainslie (II, 248) cites "*Neringie*" (Tamil) alone for the latter, and the *Dictionary of Economic Products* (*India*) gives "*Neranchi*" (Sinh.). But both these grow in Ceylon. T. A. Pieris, in Paris Exhibition List, 1855, gives "*Nerinchi*" as *Tribulus lanuginosus* (=*T. terrestris*).]

156. **Niagalla-alla** and **mal** *Gloriosa superba*

["*Niangala*" is *Gloriosa superba* L. Moon gave "*Niagala*."]

157. **Nika-mool** and **dalu-isma** *Vitex foliis quinatis*

["*Nika*" is *Vitex Negundo* L.: leaves used as fomentation in rheumatism; root used as a tonic (Trimen).]

158. **Nilika** Sulphur

[See Gydegan, No. 60.]

159. **Nuga-mool**

[" *Nuga* " is *Ficus altissima* var. *Fergusoni* King. " *Nuga*," with various prefixes, is applied to several species of *Ficus*, e.g. " *Maha-nuga*," *Ficus benghalensis* ; " *Bu-nuga*," *F. mysorensis* ; etc.]

160. **Olinde-kolla** and **dalu** *Abrus precatorius*

[" *Olinda wel* " is *Abrus precatorius* L. The root is the well-known liquorice, *Glycirrhiza indica* of the older writers, and is used both internally and externally in Sinhalese medicine (Trimen).]

161. **Ook-dandi-isma** Sugar cane

[" *Ukdanda*,"—Sugar cane (Clough, p. 73).]

162. **Ooks-hakuru** Brown sugar

[" *Uksakuru*,"-Sugar (Clough, p. 74).]

163. **Ooluwa-hal**

[" *Oolu-hal* " was purchased by Ferguson and identified by him as Fenugreck seed. Clough, p. 82, describes " *Uluwa-hal*," as a small grain or seed used by Sinhalese to put in their curries. Ainslie gives " *Oolowa* " as *Trigonella foenum-graecum* L.]

164. **Oundu-pieli** *Trifolium repens*

[" *Hin-undupiyali* " is *Desmodium triflorum* DC.; " *Maha-undupiyali* " is *Desmodium heterophyllum* DC.; both used in cases of fever (Trimen). From Hoatson's identification as *Trifolium repens*, it would seem that one of these two species was intended, and probably the former.]

165. **Pahichi-pol-cudu** The kernel of a dried coconut.

[" *Pehichcha*,"—cooked : " *Pol-kudu*,"—the refuse of the coconut after it has been rasped and the milk [i.e. oil, T.P.] expressed (Clough).]

166. **Palmanikun** *Sulphas cupri*

[" *Palmanikan*," (Ferguson), " *Palmanicum* " (Ainslie, I, 510), " *Palmanikkan* " (Clough, p. 332),—Sulphate of copper.]

167. **Pamburu-kolla**

[" *Pamburu* " is *Ardisia Missionis* Wall.]

168. **Panguru-kolla**

[" ? *Pengiri*,"—*Cymbopogon Nardus* Rendle, which Hermann recorded as " *Pengriman*."]

169. **Pasa** Sand taken from where ducks sit at night.

[" *Pasa* " is Sinhalese for soil. " *Pasi* " is a general Tamil name for filamentous algae washed up on shore, and is given by Attygalle (p. 187) for " Ceylon Moss," *Gracilaria lichenoides.*]

170. **Patpadagam** *Hedyotis herbacea*

[" *Patpadakam* " (Tamil) is *Mollugo Cerviana* Ser.; much used in medicine in fever (Trimen). Moon and Ferguson give " *Patpadagam,*" with the same identification. We have no recorded Sinhalese name for *Oldenlandia herbacea* (=*Hedyotis herbacea*), but *O. corymbosa*, which is also used in fevers, is known as " *Wal-patpadagam.*"]

171. **Pawatta-kolla** *Justicia adhatoda*

[" *Pawatta* " is the Sinhalese name of *Pavetta indica* L.; but " *Pavettai* " (Tamil) is *Adhatoda Vasica* (=*Justicia Adhatoda*) Clough (p.348) gives " *Pawatta* " for either plant.]

172. **Perungkaium**

[" *Perungkaium* " (Ferguson), " *Perungyum* " (Ainslie, I, p. 20), " *Perunkayam* " (Clough, p. 375),—Assafoetida.]

173. **Pila-kolla** *Galega purpurea*

[*Galega purpurea* L. is *Tephrosia purpurea* Pers., a common village medicine for children, " *Pila* " (Trimen).]

174. **Pilal-mal** *Artocarpus integrifolia*

[" *Pila* " is a Tamil name for *Artocarpus integrifolia*.Probably Hoatson meant " *Palol.*" " *Palol* " is *Stereospermum suaveolens*, the flowers of which are used medicinally.]

175. **Pitcha-mal** *Jasminum grandiflorum*

[" *Pichcha* " and " *Geta pichcha* " are cited by Trimen for *Jasminum Sambac* Ait., an old inhabitant of Ceylon gardens. *Jasminum grandiflorum* L. is also grown in gardens in Ceylon, and is given as " *Samanpichcha* " by Moon. See No. 200.]

176. **Pol-mal** and **mool** *Palmae Cocos nucifera*

[" *Pol* " is the usual term for coconut.]

177. **Ponaritaraan**

[" *Ponarridaraan*" (Tamil),—Golden-coloured orpiment, *Arsenicum auripigmentum* (Ainslie, I, p. 499).]

178. **Potu-mool**

[" *Pota-wel* " is *Pothos scandens* L.]

179. **Pous-wael-potu**

[" *Pus-wel* " is *Entada scandens* Benth.; the juice of the wood and bark is used as an external application to ulcers (Trimen).]

180. **Pupula-mal**

["*Pupula*" is *Vernonia zeylanica* Less., used as an external application to wounds (Trimen). Moon gives "*Wael-pupula*" for this.]

181. **Puscure** Rosin

[Imported in boxes, common rosin (Hoatson). Clough, p. 369, says "*Puskara*" is borax, used as a flux. On the other hand, I am informed that resin is sold in the bazaar as "*Puskara*." Attygalle gives "*Puskara*" as borax, and that appears to be the common use. Crude borax was obtained under this name in the Kandy bazaar in 1916 (det. A. Bruce).]

182. **Radelia-wael-potu**

["*Radaliya*" is *Connarus monocarpus* L.]

183. **Rahadia** or **Rassadia** *Mercurium purificatum*

["*Rahadiya*,"—Quicksilver (Clough).]

184. **Rambuc-bada-isma**

["*Rambuk*" is *Saccharum arundinaceum* Retz. Clough gives *S. procerum* Roxb., a synonym of the above, while Moon's name is *S. daemonum* K., another synonym.]

185. **Rana-wara-kolla-kudu**

["*Ranawara*" is *Cassia auriculata* L.]

186. **Rassakinda-wael** *Menispermum cordifolium*

["*Rasa-kinda*" is *Tinospora cordifolia* Miers. See No. 116.]

187. **Rat-handung** Red sandalwood

["*Rat-handum*,"— Red sandalwood (Moon). "*Rat Sandun*,"— Red sandalwood, *Pterocarpus santalinus* L. (Clough, p. 523).]

188. **Rath-nitool-mool** *Plumbago rosea*

["*Rat-netul*" is *Plumbago rosea* L., commonly grown in gardens as a medicinal plant (Trimen).]

189. **Rat-mal** *Ixora coccinea*

[Moon cites "*Rat-mal*" as Red flower, and gives various species. Clough gives "*Rat-mal*" as *Ixora coccinea* (p. 523). *Ixora coccinea* L. is used medicinally, but the Sinhalese name usually employed is "*Rat-ambala*."]

190. **Ratte-el-den-moutra** Red cow's urine

191. **Ratte-inghuru** *Amomum Zingiber*

[Clough, p. 521, gives "*Rata inguru*" as a species of ginger. Moon has "*Ratu-rata-inguru*,"—*Zingiber rubens*, Bengal. *Zingiber rubens* Roxb. does not occur in Ceylon, and its specific name refers to the red flower. Hoatson stated that this is imported, and the

roots are boiled before drying. Whether this is ordinary ginger reddened by treatment, or some other species, is not clear : ordinary ginger is sometimes scalded before drying.]

192. **Ratte-loonoo** Shallots

[" *Ratu loonoo,*"—Shallots, cultivated (Moon). " *Ratu lunu,*" small onions (Ferguson).]

193. **Reru-kolla**

[Moon, in his *Sinhalese Botany*, lists " *Seru* " or " *Reru-gaha,*" with the English name, Teal tree. " *Bu-seru* " is *Premna tomentosa* Willd., probably the species intended. " *Gal-seru* " is given by Moon for *Canthium didymum* var. *lanceolatum.*]

194. **Riditutang**

[Imported in bags.—a hard bark well dried (Hoatson). Ferguson described " *Redi-tuthan* " as a heavy grey stone. Ferguson gives the synonyms, " *Redetootam* " (S.), " *Toottano* " (T.), " *Kurparum* " (Sans.); this makes it impure Calamine, "*Tutanagam*" (T.), " *Kharpara* " (Sans.). Attygalle gives " *Ride Tuttan,*"—a natural zinc ore composed chiefly of carbonate and sulphate of zinc.]

195. **Rukatanna-potu-kolla isma** and **mool**

[" *Rukattana* " is *Alstonia scholaris* Br. The bark is a valuable astringent tonic ; much used in fevers : it is an official drug in the Indian Pharmacopoeia (Trimen).]

196. **Sadika** *Necus moschata*

[" *Sadikka,*"—nutmeg (Ferguson : Clough). The modern scientific name of the nutmeg tree is *Myristica fragrans.*]

197. **Sadilingam** Native cinnabar

[" *Sadilingam* " is given as Vermilion by Clough (p. 264). Ainslie records " *Shadlingum* " (Tamil) as artificial cinnabar (I, 542). Ferguson described it as a coarse vermilion red stone.]

198. **Saebo-kolla** or **Haebo-kolla**

[*Achyranthes aspera* L., See Nos. 61, 97.]

199. **Sahinda lunu** *Sal Ammoniac*

[" *Sahinda lunu,*"—rock salt (Clough). " *Savinde lunu,*"—rock salt (Ferguson, in Pieris's list). "*Sawinde lunu,*"— rock salt (Ainslie, I, 372).]

200. **Saman-pitcha mal** *Jasminum grandiflorum*

[" *Samanpichcha* " is given by Moon for *Jasminum grandiflorum* L.]

201. **Sarna-mool**

[?"*Sarana.*" Thwaites gives "*Sarana*" as *Trianthema decandra* L., which is used medicinally. Trimen cites " *Maha-sarana* "

for that species, and "*Hin-sarana*" for *Trianthema monogyna* L. Ferguson identified "*Sarana-mool*" as the root of *Trianthema* sp. For the contraction cf. Hermann, who cites "*Puksarna*" or "*Puksarana*" for *Canna indica*.]

202. **Seritekо**

[Imported in small sticks in bags (Hoatson). Clough (p. 685) gives "*Siritekku*" as *Siphonanthus indica*. *Clerodendron Siphonanthus* R. Br. (*Siphonanthus indica* L.) is used medicinally, but the roots of *Clerodendron serratum* Spreng. constitute "*Cheru-tekka*" (Mala.), "*Chiru dekku*" (Tamil), *fide* Dictionary of Economic Products of India. W. Ferguson identified "*Seritekko*" as *Premna herbacea*.]

203. **Sevie-mool**

["*Siviya*" was recorded by Ferguson as the roots of a *Piper*, *Chavica suviya* Miq. Trimen states that *Piper chawya* Ham. (*Chavica Chuvya* Miq., Thw. Enum. 428) is a variety of *Piper Betle*, and is known as "*Siwiya-wel*."]

204. **Sid-inghuru** Dried ginger

["*Siddinguru*,"—dry ginger (Clough, p. 635).]

205. **Sillu-mondu**

[This substance is not procurable in the Kandy bazaar. It may be *Flueggea leucopyrus* Willd., "*Challa manta*," "*Sale manta*" (Hindu)]

206. **Sina mool**

["*Sina mul*" is China root (Clough, p. 821). Ferguson's lists have *Cheena-mool*. *Gynura pseudochina* DC. is grown commonly in gardens under the name of "*Ala-bet*" or China root (Trimen).]

207. **Sine** Sugar of any sort.

["*Sine*,"—sugar (Clough, p. 638).]

208. **Sine-hakuru** Soft sugar (jaggery)

["*Sarkara*,"—Jaggery (Clough, p. 629).]

209. **Sinukaraan**

["*Sinakkaran*,"—Alum (Clough, p. 688). "*Chinakarum* "(Sinh.) —alum (Ainslie, I. p. 11). "*Senakkaran*" (Ferguson).]

210. **Siwanguru**

[Hoatson says, "imported in bags, a gummy substance." "*Suwanguru*," purchased by W. H. Wright in the Kandy bazaar in 1862, was described by him as red chalk. Ferguson enumerated it as a red stone. Clough gives "*Sivanguru*" or "*Siwanguru*" as red chalk or red arsenic (pp. 158, 167, 517). "*Tsze-hwang*"

is the Chinese yellow sulphuret of arsenic, which is exported to India. "*Siwanguru,*" purchased in the Kandy bazaar in 1916 was determined on analysis as "clay coloured with iron" (A. Bruce), apparently red ochre.]

211. **Sudu-duru**

["*Sudu-duru,*"—white cummin (Clough,p. 255); small cummin (Ferguson). *Cuminum Cyminum* Linn.]

212. **Sudu-handoong** White sandalwood

["*Sudu handun*" (Ferguson: Moon: Clough)—*Santalum album* L.]

213. **Sudu-loonoo** *Allium sativum*

["*Sudu-lunu,*"—garlic (Ferguson): "*Soodo-loonoo,*"—Garlic (Ainslie, I, p. 150). *Allium sativum* L. is garlic.]

214. **Sudu-passanum**

["*Sudu-passanum,*"—white arsenic (Clough, p. 628). "*Sudu-pasanum.*"—*Acidum arseniosum,* (W. H. Wright, Kandy Bazaar, 1862).]

215. **Suendel-alla** *Musa*

["*Suwandel*" is a variety of the Plantain.]

216. **Tala-tel** and **etta** *Sesamum orientale*

["*Tel-tala*" is *Sesamum indicum* L.]

217. **Tal-mool-isma** Palmyra tree root

["*Tal*" is *Borassus flabellifer* L., Palmyra.]

218. **Tal-wakaru** Arrack from toddy

["*Tal wakara,*"—arrack of the second distillation (Clough, p. 205).]

219. **Tam-bapoo-hal** Boiled rice

220. **Tana-kiri** Woman's milk

["*Tana-kiri*" (Clough, p. 202).]

221. **Tebu-mool-isma**

["*Tebu*" is *Costus speciosus* Smith.]

222. **Tipili** *Piper longum*

["*Tippili*" (Trimen: Moon: Ferguson), "*Tipillie*" (Ainslie).]

223. **Titta-wael-isma**

["*Titta wel*" is *Anamirta paniculata* Colebr. The seeds are very bitter and poisonous, and are known as *Cocculus indicus* in pharmacy and trade (Trimen).]

224. **Totila-gaha-potu** *Bignonia indica*

["*Totila*" is *Oroxylum indicum* Vent. (=*Bignonia indica* L.). The bark is much used as an astringent tonic (Trimen). "*Totilla-potu,*"—bark of *Bignonia indica* (Ferguson).]

225. **Trikatuka** — By this term Singhalese understand Ginger, Black Pepper, and "*Tipili*," mixed together.

["*Trikatuka*" (Clough, p. 226).]

226. **Trusta-wael-mool** — *Convolvulus turpethum*

["*Trastawalu*" is *Ipomaea Turpethum* Br. (=*Convolvulus Turpethum* L.). The root affords a glutinous milky juice, much used as a purgative (Trimen).]

227. **Vilendi** — Toasted paddy

["*Vilanda*,"—fried grain, parched corn (Clough, p. 600).]

228. **Vira-kolla-isma**

["*Wira*" is *Hemicyclia sepiaria* W. & A.]

229. **Vissa-du-vili**

["*Wisaduli*" is *Centipeda orbicularis* Lour. For information *re* the erroneous identification of this name by Moon and others, see Trimen I, 146; III, 42; IV, 180.]

230. **Wadakaha-alla**

["*Wadakaha*" is *Acorus Calamus* L. The aromatic rootstock is used medicinally (Trimen). Ferguson identified the bazaar "*Wadakaha*" as the rootstock of *Acorus Calamus*.]

231. **Wagapool** or **tipili** — *Piper longum*

["*Wagapol*" (Moon), "*Waya pol*" (Trimen), is *Curculigo recurvata* Dryand., a common plant. Clough cites "*Wayapol*" as *C. recurvata*, and "*Wagapul*" as *C. recurvata* or *Piper longum*, colloquially known as "*Tippili*" A third version is provided by Ferguson, who records that "*Wagapul*," purchased in the bazaar, was 'no doubt the dried flowers of *Careya arborea*,' The latter were obtained as "*Wagapul*" in the Kandy bazaar in 1916, but I am informed that "*Tipili*" (long pepper) is substituted in the boutiques.]

232 **Waha-tellae-kolla** — *Convolvulus obscurus*

[*Ipomaea obscura* Ker is "*Tel-kola*" according to Trimen, and "*Boo-tael-kola* in Moon. Trimen gives "*Kaha-tel-kola*,"—*Ipomaea chryseides* Ker. "*Waha*" or "*Wasa*" means poison. Moon has "*Wasa-tael-kola*," without Latin name, and "*Boo-wasa-tael-kola*" for *Breweria cordata* Bl. "*Rasa-tel-kola*" is *Ipomaea sepiaria* Koenig.]

233. **Walanga-sal**

[*Embelia Ribes* Burm. The fruit when dried looks like black pepper, and forms the bazaar drug known as "*Walinga-sal*" (Trimen).]

234. **Wal-tipili-mool** *Piper longum*

["*Wal-tipili*" should be a wild pepper: the name is given by Moon for *Piper diffusum*, by which *P. argyrophyllum* Miq. was probably intended.]

235. **Wang ipola** *Justicia adhatoda*

["*Wanepala*" is *Adhatoda Vasica* Nees., of which *Justicia Adhatoda* is a synonym.]

236. **Wara-kolla-mool** *Asclepias gygantica*

["*Wara*" is *Calotropis gigantea* Br. (=*Asclepias gigantea* L.). The bark of the root is employed as an alterative tonic (Trimen).]

237. **Wassa-wasi** Mace

["*Wasa-wasi*" (Clough; Ferguson), "*Wassa-wasie*" (Ainslie),—Mace.]

238. **Watchinabi-mool**

["*Watchinabi alla*,"-Imported in bags cut into slices (Hoatson). ? root of *Aconitum napellus* (Ferguson). "*Wachchanavi*," "*Watsanabha*,"—an active poison, apparently the root of a vegetable said to be brought from Nepal (Clough). "*Vachanabhi*" (Sinh.), *Aconitum ferox* Wall. (or other spp.), *fide Dictionary of Economic Products of India*.]

239 **Watesse-isma**

["*Wata-essa*" is *Drosera Burmanni* Vahl. Moon and Clough give the spelling "*Wataressa*"]

240. **Wel-kassambilia-mool** and **dalu**

[*Wel-kahambiliya* is *Tragia involucrata* L.]

241. **Welmi** *Glycirrhiza glabra*

["*Welmee*,"—liquorice root (Ferguson). "*Wellmie*,"—liquorice root (Ainslie, I, p. 199). The root of *Abrus precatorius* L., see Olinda, No. 160.]

242. **Weni-wael-ghaetha**

["*Weni-waela-gaeta*" was given by Moon for *Coscinium fenestratum* Colebr. Trimen and Ferguson recorded it as "*Weni-wel*."]

243. **Wuncara-lunu**

["*Venkaram*" (Tam.), "*Vengaram*" (Sinh.),—Borax (*Dictionary of Economic Products of India*).]

244. **Yakinaraan-kolla**

["*Yakinaran*" is *Atalantia zeylanica* Oliv.]

245. **Yakuvanassi-kolla-isma**

["*Yakwanassa*" is *Anisomeles ovata* Br. The plant is much used in medicine; the smoke of this is believed to keep off devils (Trimen).]

The following names appear in the paper, but are not given in the lists:—

1. **Dehi-kolla-isma** *Limonia acidissima*

[*Limonia acidissima* Auct. plur. non L. is *Limonia crenulata* Roxb.; neither Trimen nor Moon gave a Sinhalese name. "*Dehi*" is the lime.]

2. **Dombagaha**

["*Domba*" is *Calophyllum Inophyllum* L.]

3. **Haepedi**

[I have not found this name elsewhere. It is not known in the Kandy Bazaar.]

4. **Hinguru-putta**

[? "*Hinguru potu.*" "*Hinguru*" is *Acacia caesia* Willd.]

5. **Kapu tellae**

["*Kapu*" is cotton. ? error for "*Kapu kolla,*" cf. recipes for snakebites.]

6. **Khotimburu** *Coriandrum sativum*

[Moon cites "*Kotamburu*" or "*Kotamalli*" for *Coriandrum sativum*. See No. 112.]

7. **Leva-lunu** *Murias sodae*

["*Lewa lunu,*"—sea salt made in a saltern (Clough, p. 552).]

8. **Nelli** *Phyllanthus emblica*

["*Nelli*" is *Phyllanthus Emblica* L, The acid and astringent fruit is an important Sinhalese medicine (Trimen)]

9. **Rat-kolla**

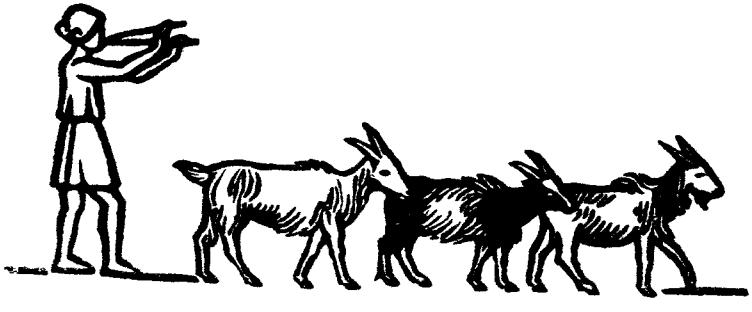
10. **Suanda-hota**

["*Suanda-hota*" is given as Khus-Khus, *Vetiveria zizanoides* Stapf, by Ferguson in a list of Sinhalese medicines copied from some unnamed Sinhalese medical work: he cites the synonyms, *Suanda hota* (Sin.), "*Elamidoo*" (Tam.), "*Usira*" (Sans.). The Sinhalese name now given for this is "*Saewandara.*"]

11. **Wang mutu alla** *Andropogon schoenanthus*

["*Wam-mutu*" is *Cyperus rotundus* L., colloquially "*Kalanduru*" (Clough, p. 566). Hoatson is consistent in his misidentifica-

tion; See No. 87. He appears, in some way, to have obtained his information from Linnaeus (*Flora Zeylanica*), where, through some confusion of Hermann's specimens, Linnaeus, in No.465, enumerated an undetermined specimen as " *Kalanduru* " and added " Pharm. Schoenanthi Herba." *Fl. Zeyl.*, 465, is now taken as *Andropogon Schoenanthus*. The name "*Kalanduru*" was not cited by Willdenow for *Andropogon Schoenanthus*, and Moon, in his copy of Willdenow, has added the Sinhalese name " *Pengiri Mana, Oova*," indicating that *Andropogon Schoenanthus* was known by that name in the district in which Hoatson was stationed. Hoatson's misidentification, consequently throws some doubt on his statement that he determined the meaning of the Sinhalese name from specimens of the plant brought to him, unless, perhaps, it was another instance of an accepted substitution.



THE PATICCASAMUPPADA

Or the Chain of Causes in Buddha's Doctrine.

By REV. ED. FEUTSAERT, S.J.

THE *Paticcamuppáda* or the *Chain of causes*, is well known to such as are acquainted with Buddhism. It runs as follows:

In consequence of ignorance, merit and demerit;
in consequence of merit and demerit, the consciousness;
in consequence of consciousness, the body and the mental faculties;
in consequence of the mental faculties, the six organs of sense;
in consequence of the six organs of sense, touch or contact;
in consequence of contact, the sensations;
in consequence of the sensations, desire;
in consequence of desire, the attachment to existence;
in consequence of attachment to existence, a place of birth;
in consequence of a place of birth, decay, death, grief, weeping, pain, discontent and dissatisfaction are produced.[1]

This formula is capital in the doctrine of Buddha. It forms together with the "*Four Noble Truths*" the pith of his philosophy. All the scholars in Buddhism agree upon it; but all too, feel disconcerted by its apparent obscurity. Some say "it is very unphilosophical and confused"; others call it a metaphysical puzzle, and declare that "it is utterly impossible to trace from beginning to end a connected meaning in this formula." It seems that even the ancient Buddhists found there a stumbling-block.[2]

1. The text has been translated from the Páli. The translations are slightly different: cf. Gogerly, *Ceylon Buddhism*, London, 1908. p. 39 (*paccayá* = in consequence; *sankhára* = merit and demerit; *sambhavanti* = is produced)—cf. Copleston, *Buddhism*, London, 1892, p. 121, (*paccayá* = from; *sankhára* = conformations; *sambhavanti* = comes)—cf. Warren *Buddhism in translations*, Cambridge 1896. p. 166 (*paccaya* = on; *sankhára* = Karma; *Sambhavanti* = depends). More accurately, *paccayá* (after), *Sambhavanti* (is found, is met with) express the idea of succession, of antecedent and consequent. Conformations (all adaptations), as translated by Copleston, is the practical conduct that adapts, conforms itself to ignorance, i.e. *Karma*, merit and demerit. (cf. below.)

2. Gogerly, op. cit. pp. 39, 40.—Copleston, op. cit. p. 122.—Oldenberg, edit. *Vinaya pitaka*.

In this article, we shall attempt to see our way as far as we can. It seems to us that this text must be interpreted in the light of Buddha's doctrine as gathered from other passages of the sacred books, and studied with a special exegetic method.

Our process will be as follows. After a general and summary view of Buddha's system, as far as our purpose is concerned, we will pick out in the "chain of causes" the prominent concepts; under these we will group the particular and more secondary ideas, and with the aid of a few observations, we will endeavour to reduce the formula to a simple and concise expression of the metaphysical basis of Buddha's doctrine.

General and summary view of Buddha's Doctrine.[3]

Buddha's system rests on *two fundamental principles*, not altogether unconnected, as is evident from their very statement.

Existence is misery, sorrow and suffering, and,—what is the greatest of all miseries,—Existence is to be perpetuated in an endless series.

This twofold principle suggests a problem to be solved: How is man to be delivered from that existence which will be continued after death? How will he escape re-birth and all the evil it involves? The solution evidently depends on this other question: What is it that causes existence to be renewed beyond the grave? To this Buddha has two answers, which supply the compound cause that is responsible for existence and re-birth.

The first answer is: The cause of existence and re-birth lies in the merit and demerit, i.e. in the good and bad actions performed in a previous existence, those good and bad actions being considered under the specific aspect of their moral value. That cause is termed *Karma*.[4]

The second answer is: The cause of existence and re-birth is the desire of, the clinging to, individual existence.

Buddha speaks in a general way of desire; but as often as not, he calls it the desire for existence. To him all the desires, good as well as bad, are the expression and the manifestation of that clinging to existence: they make it up, and it ultimately resolves itself into them. It is called *Tanhá*.

Both these causes constitute the total and complete cause: *Karma and Tanhá*; but they produce their common effect under

3. We confine ourselves to the theoretical or metaphysical part of Buddha's system His moral system and practical teaching lies beyond the exigencies of our present study.
4. Milinda 11, 2—Gogerly, p. 36—Copleston, p. 118.

two different formalities: *Tanhá* causes existence and re-birth as such; *Karma* causes existence and re-birth as affecting such or such a condition of existence, higher or lower in the scale of beings, happy or miserable along all possible degrees.[5]

That there is a close connexion between *Tanhá* and *Karma*, i.e. between the good and bad desires that make up the former on the one side, and the good and bad actions that constitute the latter on the other side, everyone will admit. It is indeed too evident that our actions are the result of our desires and, so to say, embody them.

In short, the total cause assigned to existence and re-birth may be expressed thus: *Tanhá and Karma, as loaded with their moral value.* They build up the moral character of man.[6]

Buddha comes now to a practical conclusion: The only way to be delivered from existence and re-birth is to attack it in its very cause. He straightway directs his efforts against *Tanhá* and, the scheme of salvation he proposes, is to destroy it; by the very fact he will do away with *Karma*,—and existence and re-birth will have received the fatal blow.

As to the way of destroying the clinging to existence, Buddha points to the "noble eightfold path" developed into the whole of his moral system. Contemplation, moderate asceticism, life of perfection, aim but at the destruction of desire.[7] To believe in the teaching of the Enlightened one, to be convinced of the truths he has unveiled, and above all, practically to conform one's behaviour to it, is the only true knowledge, the only true wisdom. Not to know his principles and method, and, to overlook them in practice is the only ignorance, ignorance above all.[8] Such as theoretically and practically realise his doctrine, are delivered from existence and re-birth, and from all the sorrows and sufferings essentially connected with them. They go to *Nirvána*.

5. Cf. Subhadra Bhikshu: *A Buddhist Catechism*, Colombo 1908, p. 23, q. 83. "What is the difference between *Tanhá* and *Karma*.?"

6. *Ibid.* p. 23. qq. 80, 81.

7. Here lies—as it appears to us,—one of the differences between the Brahmanism of the *Upanishads*, and Buddha's system. Both are convinced that the desire of existence is the true cause of evil; but, while the Brahmin aims at destroying the desire of existence indirectly, by reaching the conviction of his identity with the impersonal all-God, Brahma, the Buddha attacks the desire of existence directly in itself. Hence the elements that are common to both schemes, such as contemplation, asceticism, moral perfection are not viewed and proposed in the same way: to the Brahmin, asceticism (in its extreme form) and moral perfection are supposed to promote contemplation in which the final and saving conviction is attained; to Buddha, contemplation is directed to promote asceticism and holy life, by which the desire of existence is extinguished.

8. About ignorance cf. Warren, op. cit. p. 170—translation from the *Visuddhi Magga*, Chap. XVII—Copleston, Chap. VII, Abolition of ignorance, p. 103.

Exegetic Study of the Chain of Causes.

From the foregoing exposition of Buddha's doctrine, we now take out the outstanding concepts, with which our particular study is concerned, viz., *Ignorance*, *Karma* and *Tanhá*.

IGNORANCE, as has already been said, is the absence of theoretical and practical knowledge of Buddha's teaching. The immediate result of that ignorance is to leave untouched *Karma* and *Tanhá*.

KARMA AND TANHA. The ignorants of that sort neglect to destroy the desire of existence, and the actions which the desire implies. Both remain with their moral value. These *Tanhá* and *Karma* appear in the formula: *merit and demerit, desire of existence.* They have been sufficiently explained in the exposition of Buddha's doctrine.

But there appears in the chain of causes a term that was not mentioned in the exposition of Buddha's doctrine, the term *consciousness*. To Buddha consciousness is one of the various elements that make up individual existence.[9] It is clear from other texts that the individual and its relations with the outer-world, result from many factors: consciousness, bodily organisation, mental faculties, sensation, desire, etc. but it appears too that consciousness plays in that aggregate of phenomena a prominent part. It is connected with all the other faculties and their activity, as a general and all-pervading condition. So, the term consciousness is an apt substitute for individual existence [10]

Now that we have interpreted the chief concepts, we are able to reduce the concerned formula to a simple expression.

9. One must remember that, whenever Buddha mentions existence, he understands individual existence. This is indeed the existence that is to be perpetuated, and that is but suffering and sorrow. Buddha conceives it as made up of the static and dynamic phenomena which constitute the individual and his activity (body, mental operations, organs, sensation and desire). Neither those phenomena nor the individual existence that results from them, are anything like permanent. They constantly change, and the passage from one existence to another (re-birth) is but a more prominent and more striking alteration.

This continuous flow of the phenomena is set on and kept up, by one of them, namely by desire. Hence, individual existence has in its very constitution the fatal power that unceasingly generates and preserves it through the endless series of changes and rebirths. As the will-to-live abides in the very essence of individual existence, and, as the latter changes without solution of continuity, it seems impertinent to attack Buddhism by pointing at the absurdity of a will-to-live, that has no substratum. The difficulty has a larger bearing: it affects the whole aggregate of individual existence. Buddha could have turned to the necessary complement of his philosophical statement, I mean, to the pantheistic views of the Upanishads. But we know how he looked upon such speculations as irrelevant, and how he reduced his metaphysical teachings to such a minimum as was sufficient to the practical character of his scheme of salvation. To complete his philosophy in this way, would be to expose his doctrine to all the attacks that are directed against pantheistic speculations at large.

10. This is undoubtedly confirmed by *Samyutta-Nikaya* text XXII,53; cf. Warren, op. cit. p. 162—*ibid.* translation from *Milindapanha* (62), Warren p. 182, 28. Consciousness.

"In consequence of ignorance, merit and demerit; in consequence of merit and demerit, individual existence; in consequence of individual existence, the desire of existence; in consequence of the desire of existence, existence itself—"

Or in a schematic form:

I. *Ignorance.*
II. *Karma.*
III. *Existence.*
IV. *Tanhá*
V. *Existence.*

A few *observations* are necessary here.

I. The chain starts from any given existence in the endless succession of transmigration, and proceeds to show the uniform causation of *two successive existences* or re-births (III & V). The existence taken as a starting point, is necessarily supposed to be infected with ignoranee (1) and as an inevitable result with Karma (II). This unlocks, so to say, the energy of causation.

II. The reduced formula shows that the cause of existence (and re-birth) is now termed *Karma* (II) then, *Tanhá* (IV). We have seen in the general view of Buddha's teaching that the total and *complete cause* is *Karma and Tanhá*, but, from the considerations we made about the intimate connection between *Karma* and *Tanhá*, it is clear, that the use of one or other of the component causes instead of the integral cause, is thoroughly justified. It is moreover a way of variety, and we shall further hint at the obvious fact that the sacred books are extremely fond of *variety* and *synonymy*.

III. If we compare the reduced scheme with the fully developed formula, we notice at once, that *existence* (re-birth) in the two instances (III, V) is expressed in a different way.

In the first place (III) it is described in its *constitutional elements* (consciousness, body, mental faculties, &c...), of which the principal one, as it was said, viz., *consciousness*, may stand for the whole individual existence.

In the second place (V) it is presented in its essential and necessary *circumstances* (viz. its first appearance, and local position =birth and place of birth)—and in its general character of dreariness (bodily and mental sufferings).

And this twofold way of introducing existence is but another instance of variety.

Such a variety, in philosophical teaching, might be distasteful to a European mind; but it is far from being at variance with the general style of the Buddhist Sacred Writings. It is as clear as noonday that they denote little care for uniformity in the expression, and that they reveal a special liking for repetition, enumeration and synonymy.[11]

The observations we have just now made, account for the criticism with which the formula meets in the world of Buddhist Scholars.

IV. What is the relation between the various concepts of the *Paticcasamuppáda*?

The words "*paccaya*" and "*sambhavanti*," which by themselves mean nothing but mere *succession*, do not, in any way prejudge the solution in the sense of causality.

What was Buddha's *conception of causality*? He compares cause and effect with two bundles that rest against each other: one cannot possibly stand without the other.

And this seems to be the *general* and uniform *relation* existing between the various concepts expressed in the *Paticcasamuppáda*: There is between them *a connection of necessary dependence*. *Karma* and *Tanhá* are the inevitable result of ignorance; individual existence is the fatal outcome of *Karma* and *Tanhá*; consciousness is the essential condition of all the phenomena that build up the individual; those phenomena themselves are to each other in the transcendental relation of faculties and correspondent activities; Existence cannot possibly be imagined without its beginning (birth), and without a determined place (place of birth); Existence moreover—according to Buddha's conception based on experience—cannot possibly be but miserable and sorrowful.

From this statement we may see that, although the *general concept* of intimate dependence is common to all those sets of ideas, yet that dependence is not everywhere of the same *specific description*. There is logical and ontological dependence, there is the dependence of result on position, of a conditional fact on its condition, etc.

But the relation that is fundamental in Buddha's doctrine as well as in the formula we are at present concerned with, the relation that the author of the chain of causation has in view and

11. A look at the texts in the sacred books will convince anyone. We quote a few references. *Milindapanha* (62)—*Majjhima-nikáya* (Sutta 38)—*Maha Vagga* V. 1, 9, etc.

which he wishes to point out, is the relation between *Karma and Tanhá* on the one side, and individual existence on the other.

The simile used by Buddha to express that relation seems to imply a more rigorous causality.

"A tree produces fruit, from which fruit another tree is produced, and so the series continues. The last tree is not identical with the first tree, but it is a result. If the first tree had not been, the last tree could not have existed. Man is the tree, his conduct, the fruit. The vivifying energy of the fruit is desire; so long as this continues, the series will proceed. The good or evil actions performed give the quality of the fruit, so that the existence springing from those actions, will be happy or miserable as the quality of the fruit affects the tree produced from it."[12]

We give below a complete scheme which shows the contents of the formula:

	Ignorance	
a. *In any existence* of the endless series	*Karma-Tanhá*	(The former being *expressed*, the latter *implied*.)
b. *A first re-birth*	*Existence*	In its *constituting elements*; consciousness, body, mental faculties, organs of sense,—*condition of their activity and their activity itself*: contact, sensation, desire...)
	Tanhá-Karma	(The former being *expressed*, the latter *implied*.)
c. *Another re-birth*	*Existence*	(In its *necessary circumstances*: place and birth —and with its *dreary view*: decay, death, etc...

If thus understood, the formula "*Patticcasamuppáda*" conveys to us a summary and sententious expression of Buddha's metaphysical teachings, about the causes of recurring existence and re-birth. According to the general appearance of all the sacred texts, we find here the few capital links of the chain developed in all their details, with such a variety and multiplicity as to leave the impression of an endless transmigration.

12. We quote this passage from Gogerly op. cit. I. p. 9.

Notes & Queries.

NOTES ON THE "MAHAVANSA."

IV. Abhayanága and his Uncle Subhadeva.

By JOHN M. SENAVERATNA, F.R.H.S.

THE *Mahávansa* at Chap. XXXVI, vv 42-48 has the following :

"This King's (i.e. Vohárika Tissa's) younger brother, known as Abhayanága, who was the Queen's lover, being discovered in his guilt, took flight for fear of his brother and went with his serving-men to Bhallatittha and, as if wroth with him, he had his *uncle's hands and feet cut off.*

"And that he might bring about division in the kingdom, he left him behind here and took his most faithful followers with him, showing them the example of the dog, and he himself took ship at the same place and went to the other shore. But the uncle, *Subhadeva, went to the King* and, making as if he were his friend, he wrought division in the kingdom. And that he might have knowledge of this, Abhaya sent a messenger thither.

"When *Subhadeva* saw him, he *loosened the earth* round about an areca-palm, *with the shaft of his spear*, as he *walked round the tree*, and when he had made it thus to hold but feebly by the roots, he *struck it down with his arm* ; then did he threaten the messenger, and drove him forth. The messenger went and told this matter to Abhaya."

Geiger apparently does not seem to have been struck by the absurdities of the passage which I have italicised above, for he has no note on the subject.

And yet Abhayanága's uncle, Subhadeva, is credited with some impossible achievements. For what do we find ? Subhadeva has his "hands and feet cut off" and yet contrives to *go* to the King. Let us presume, however, that he was carried thither. But the next thing that the armless and legless Subhadeva does is to loosen the earth round about an areca-palm with the shaft of his spear as he *walks* round the tree and then to *strike it down with his arm* !

What is the explanation of this impossibility ? Obviously Subhadeva's hands and feet were not cut off, though the Pali text is positive they were—*hatthapádam ca chedayi*.

FATE.

A Song of the Swing.

By H. DON CLEMENT.

Oh red,—red, glows the morning sun,
And purple robes him round.
Sun-birds chirp on the emerald trees:
What truth the doves have found ?.

Hark !—hark !—the magpie[1] robin sings;
The drongo,—it mimics well.
The cuckoo marks the blanks between;
What does the bulbul tell ?.

" There is hope and fear in all hearts;
There are wars of loves and hates;
But, in all the world, in all parts,
Fate pairs the suited mates !"

THE SINGING FISH AT BATTICALOA.[2]

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired.)

IN connection with this subject attention might be invited to a letter from Dr. George Buist of Allahabad, dated 10th June, 1860, which appeared in the *Athenaeum*, and with a letter from Sir James Emerson Tennent, was reproduced in the Proceedings of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (*Journal*, Vol. III, p. xi). Dr. Buist criticises Sir James's theory that the sounds are caused by shell-fish, and contends that he, Dr. Buist, has " very clearly made out that musical fishes do exist in abundance," but suggests that " as it is very difficult to conceive in what way the sounds are made under water, it would be well to have the subject

1. The Magpie of Ceylon really sings. It does not chatter as said in the dictionary.
2. The *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. III, page 53.

more minutely inquired into." The same phenomenon has been observed in a salt water creek near Bombay, at Vizagapatam on the Coromandel Coast, 498 miles north of Madras, and off the mouth of "the river of Borneo."

The following communication from Mr. T. Stanley Green of Tirrukovil Estate, Akkaraipattu, Eastern Province, appearing in the issue of the *Times of Ceylon* of 27th August, 1917, will be read with interest in this connection :—

"Your extract from Mr. Fowler's notes on the above subject, appearing in your issue of the 21st instant, is most interesting; and, as one who has had more opportunity of hearing the famous singing fish than most, I may perhaps be allowed to add a few words to what has been already written on the subject. I should perhaps preface my remarks by explaining that I run a service of motor boats on the Batticaloa Lake, which boats, being made of thin sheet steel, are excellent conductors or, I may say, collectors of sound, and I can state without any exaggeration that I have heard the singing fish many scores of times when sitting in the cabin of one or the other of my boats, with the greatest ease and distinctness, both during the day and night, and I found that if I applied my ear to the gunwale of the boat the sound becomes so loud as to be almost startling. Mr. Fowler says "that it is hardly within the bounds of possibility that the sounds are caused by fish," but I should like to know his reasons for this opinion.

It is well known that some fish are capable of making a sound when caught, and I know from personal experience that there is a small fish in the Batticaloa Lake which cries out on being taken from the water. I do not, of course, suggest that this is the "singing fish," but it appears to me possible that a fish which can make a sound when out of the water may be able to do so when in its native element. That the sound is produced by a fish or mollusk of some kind I feel perfectly convinced, and am certain that the suggestion that the sound is caused by the rubbing together of shells lying at the bottom of the lake is absolutely incorrect for the following reasons—The rock mentioned by Sir E. Tennent as the spot where he heard the "singing fish" (locally known as Elephant Rock), does not intersect any channel, but is situated in a comparatively shallow area on the eastern shore of the lake, the main channel (where I do not think the sound is ever heard) lying much more to the west, and except in flood-time, when the sound cannot be heard at all owing to the rush of water, I do not think there is ever sufficient current to disturb shells lying at the bottom. If this spot were the only one in the lake where the sound may be heard, bearing in mind the fact that there are loose shells lying at the bottom of the lake in this locality, there might be something in the suggestion, but I have heard the sounds much more plainly than I have ever heard them at Elephant Rock, in portions of the lake miles distant from Batticaloa, viz., at Manmunai, which is about seven miles from Batticaloa, where the lake has a muddy

bottom, and so far away as Paddirruppu, which is about 16 miles from Batticaloa, where the lake is very deep and the bottom consists of many feet of black oozy mud. This, I think, disposes of the " shell " theory. With respect to the nature of the sound itself, I do not think that the simile given in your article, " that it is like the faint vibration of a wine glass when the rim is rubbed with a wet finger " is at all a happy one. To me it has always resembled the note of a Jew's Harp, or the string of a cello when twanged, varying in tone from medium tenor to deep bass, with any number of intermediate tones. I remember on one occasion, when I spent several nights on one of my boats at Manmunai owing to engine trouble, that the " singing fish " treated me to such a concert that I found it difficult to get to sleep, not that the sound was so loud as to keep me awake, but was so clear, distinct and varying in note that the weirdness of it almost placed sleep out of the question. I may add that this was on a dark moonless night. Mr. Haughton's statement that the sounds are heard most distinctly on moonlight nights is generally accepted as correct in Batticaloa, but this is, I think, due to the fact that no one would dream of venturing out on the lake on a dark night; but I can state with perfect confidence that the sounds are as audible on a dark night as on a moonlit one. A still night is of course absolutely necessary, as with a wind rippling the surface of the water, there would be no chance of hearing the sound distinctly, if at all.

With respect to Mr. Fowler's note as to Mr. Searey's statement that a musical fish is known in North Australia, I may say that when in Australia myself in 1896, on my describing the Batticaloa singing fish to a friend, he assured me that a lake in the northern part of Australia boasted a similar phenomenon, which rather confirms Searey's statement, in spite of his tendency to " tall yarns."

I must apologise for the length of this letter, but the singing fish of Batticaloa has always appeared to me to be such an interesting subject for investigation that I feel that the testimony of one who has had ten years' intimate experience of the Batticaloa Lake, under every possible condition, may be of interest to your readers, and help to throw some little light upon what has so far proved itself an obscure subject."

AN-KELIYA

By ROBERT J. PEREIRA.

AN-KELIYA is the ceremony of pulling horns or forked sticks to propitiate the goddess Pattini in times of epidemics.

According to ancient legends it was a pastime at which the goddess and her husband Pálanga took sides. They are said to

have emulated each other in picking flowers with forked sticks, the husband standing at the top, and the wife at the foot, of a tree.

The *An-Keliya*, as its name imparts, partakes more of the nature of a village sport than of a religious ceremony. There are two sides engaged, called the *Uda-pila* and *Yati-pila*. It is conducted in a central spot, in the midst of a group of villages set apart for the particular purpose, called *An-pitiya*, and commenced on a lucky day after the usual invocation by the *Kapuràla* who brings with him to the spot the *Halan* (a kind of bracelets), the insignia of the goddess. The two *Pil* select each its own horn or forked stick; the horns or sticks are then intertwined—one is tied to a stake or tree and the other is tied to a rope, which is pulled by the two parties till one or the other of the horns or sticks breaks. The *pila* which owns the broken horn is considered to have lost, and has to undergo the jeers and derision of the winning party. If the *Yati-pila*, which is patronised by the *deviyo* (Pattini) wins, it is regarded a good omen for the removal or subsidence of the epidemic.

The ceremony closes with a triumphal procession to the nearest *devàle*. A family belongs hereditarily to one or the other of the two *pil* (*Dickson*).

Robert Knox says:—"There is another sport which generally all people used with much delight, being, as they called it, a sacrifice to one of their gods; to wit, Pattiny Dio (Pattini Deiyo). And the benefit of it is, that it frees the country from grief and diseases. For the beastliness of the exercise they never celebrated it near any Town, nor in sight of women but in a remote place. The manner of the game is thus. They have two crooked sticks like elbows, one hooked in to the other, and so with contrivances they pull with ropes, until the one breaks the other; some siding with one stick and some with the other; but never is money laid on either side. Upon the breaking of the stick, that party that hath won doth not a little rejoyce. Which rejoycing is exprest by dancing and singing and uttering such sordid beastly expressions, together with postures of their bodies as I omit to write them as being their shame in acting, and would be mine in rehearsing. For he is at that time most renowned that behaves himself most shamelessly and beast-like. This filthy solemnity was formerly much in use among them; and even the King himself hath spent time in it, but now lately he hath absolutely forbidden it under penalty of a forfeiture of money. So that now the practice hereof is quite left off. But though it is thus gone into disuse, yet out of the great delight they had in it they of Gampola would revive it again; and did. Which coming to the King's ear he sent one of his noblemen to take a fine from them for it."

Literary Register.

IN CEYLON A CENTURY AGO.

The Proceedings of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society.

WITH NOTES BY T. PETCH.

(*Continued from Vol.* viii. *Pt.* iii, *Page 283*)

1824.

AT the Annual General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Thursday the 15th January, 1824.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard, Knt., L.L.D.
The Hon'ble & Ven'ble Thos. J. Twisleton, D.D.
Charles Farrell, Esquire, M.D.
Henry Augustus Marshall, Esqr.
The Revd. J. H. De Saram, A.M.
John Deane, Esqr.
The Revd. Andrew Armour
John Henry Reckerman, Esq.
Captain Thos.B.Gascoyne, Secy.,
William Granville, Esqr., Treasurer.

The Society proceeds to ballot for the election of the General Committee for the current year.

The Secretary notifies that the Revd. Mr. Glenie and the Revd. Mr. Lambrick have withdrawn their Names from the Society.

Roman Coins.

The Secretary reads a paper presented by Sir Hardinge Giffard relative to 28 Ancient Coins (also produced) found near Pantura, one of them bearing the Effigy and Superscription of Tiberius Caesar.

The thanks of the Meeting are presented to Sir Hardinge Giffard for his interesting communication.

Potatoes.

The Secretary produces a specimen of Potatoes grown at Fort MacDonald transmitted by Lieut. Theodore Mylius with a Letter

which is read recommending that station as a fit place for forming a plantation.

Resolved that the Secretary do return Mr. Mylius the thanks of the Meeting, and acquaint him that the Society will be happy to adopt his plan, and will transmit shortly some Seed Potatoes, and that he do further request Mr. Mylius to have a certain portion of ground cleared and inclosed for their reception and the expences attendant on which the Society will defray as well as all others connected with the undertaking.

A statement of the Accounts of the Fund having been laid before the Meeting, the Balance in the Hands of the Treasurer was found to be Rds. 1654. 11. 3.

The Ballot being closed the following Gentlemen are declared duly elected :—

Henry Augustus Marshall, Esq. The Revd. Andrew Armour.
John Deane, Esq. Major Philip Delatre
Henry Matthews, Esq. The Revd. J. H. De Saram
William Henry Hooper, Esq. J. H. Reckerman, Esqr.
Lieut.-Col. George Warren Walker.

The Meeting is adjourned.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Monday the 16th February, 1824.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard
J. H. Reckerman, Esq.
Captn. Thos. B. Gascoyne.

Resolved that His Excellency the Governor Sir Edward Barnes be invited to become again the Patron of the Institution.

Arrowroot.

Resolved that about 100 copies of the Sinhalese Translation of that part of Mr. Moon's Paper on the Arrowroot which relates to its culture be printed for distribution to Gentlemen who may apply for it.

The meeting is adjourned.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Monday the Fifteenth March, 1824.

Present.—

His Excellency the Governor.
The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard.
Charles Farrell, Esqr., M.D.
William Granville, Esqr. The Revd. Andrew Armour.
John Deane, Esqr. J. H. Reckerman, Esqr.
Captn. Gascoyne

Potatoes.

The Secretary reads a letter from Lieut. Forbes at Maturatta, reporting the progress of the Potatoe Plantation.

Resolved that when the crop is ripe they shall be sold publicly at Kandy or such part of them as may be required, and the remainder transferred to Colombo to be sent into the Market, the Price to be fixed by the Secretary in reference to the expences attendant on the culture.

Publications.

Resolved that a Committee be called on Monday the 23rd instant at 12 o'clock to select such Papers of those which have been presented to the Society as they may consider fit for publication.

The Meeting is adjourned.

At a Meeting of the General Committee of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Tuesday the 13th April 1824 for the purpose of slecting from the Papers presented to the Society such as are proper for Publication.

Present.—

Henry Matthews, Esqre.
The Revd. Andrew Armour.
John Deane, Esqre.
Captn. Gascoyne.

The number of the Members present not being sufficient to form a Quorum, the Committee adjourns sine die.

At a Meeting of the General Committee of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held at Colombo this 28th day of April 1824.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard, Knt.
Henry Matthews, Esqre. The Revd. A. Armour.
John Deane, Esqre. The Revd. J. H. De Saram
William Granville, Esqre., Acting Secretary.

Publications.

The Acting Secretary having read the List of Papers which have been from time to time submitted to the consideration of the Society for the purpose of selecting such as might be fittest for publication, it was resolved that the following should be recommended for publication accordingly.[31]

"Description of a Turtle (*Testudo Coriacea*) caught near Colombo, by Dr. Farrell.

"Paper on the Culture and preparation of *Maranta Arundinacea* or Indian Arrow Root, by Mr. Moon.

"Observations on the Rock called the Drunken Sailor, by Lieut.-Col. Wright.

"Observations on the Barometer as applicable to Ceylon, by Lieut.-Col. Wright.

"Description of a Species of *Mantis Urbana*, by Mr. Marshall.

"Paper on the Culture of Cochineal, by Dr. Reyne.

"Additional Observations on the Culture of Cochineal, by Dr. Farrell.

"Observations on Iron Ores and their Composition, by Mr. Russell.

"Observations on Materials fit for constructing Iron Furnaces, by Mr. Russell.

"A new System of Indo-Roman orthography, by Professor Rask.

"Singhalese Practice of Medicine and Materia Medica, by Mr. Hoatson.

"Essay on the Molluscae of Univalves, by Mr. Collier.

"Observations on the Egress of Mercury in his Transit over the Sun's Disk, by Mr. Lusignan.

"Observations on a Variety of the Hirundo Esculenta, by Mr. Russell.

"Account of some Ancient Coins found near Pantura, by Sir Hardinge Giffard.

The Meeting is adjourned.

31. Apparently this was not carried into effect.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Saturday the 15th May 1824.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard.
William Granville, Esqre.
W. H. Hooper, Esqre.
Captain Gascoyne, Secretary.

Copper Sannas from Ratnapura.

Sir Hardinge Giffard presents to the Society a Copper Sannas or Charter granted by Rajah Singa to a person who presented him with a precious Stone as large as a Cucumber. The Charter was sent by George Turnour, Esqre., Agent of Government at Ratnapoora. This donation is accompanied by a Translation and Explanatory notes by Revd. A. Armour.

Sculpture and Inscription from Gampola.

Sir Hardinge Giffard likewise presents to the Society a drawing of a remarkable Sculptured Stone found near Gampola, and a copy of an Inscription found upon another Stone discovered in the vicinity of that Fort, both of which were transmitted by Mr. A. Moon, to these Sir Hardinge has likewise annexed an explanatory Paper.

Publications.

Resolved that a Special Committee be appointed for the purpose of superintending and directing the printing of the Society's papers, and that the following Gentlemen be requested to undertake this Office.

Dr. Charles Farrell	A. Armour, Esqre.
William Granville, Esqre.	Captn. Gascoyne
W. H. Hooper, Esqre.	

The Meeting is adjourned.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Tuesday the Fifteenth day of June 1824.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard
Doctor Farrell
The Revd. Andrew Armour
J. H. Reckerman, Esqr.

Transplanting of Paddy.

A Paper on the transplanting of Paddy sent by J. F. Lorensz. Esqr., Sitting Magistrate of Matura, is submitted to the Meeting.

Resolved that it be referred to John Deane. Esqre ; for his consideration and report.

Potatoes.

Letters from Messrs. Forbes and Mylius reporting the progress of the Potato Plantations are read.

Resolved that Mr. Forbes be requested to forward so much of the Potatoes as he may have, to Colombo in such manner as may be most convenient.

The Meeting is adjourned.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Thursday the 15th July 1824.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard.
The Hon'ble Sir Richard Ottley
Lieut.-Colonel Walker
H. A. Marshall, Esqr.
J. H. Reckerman, Esqr.
Captn. Gascoyne, Secretary.

Import of Seeds.

The Secretary having reported the arrival of a packet of Garden Seeds received by the Ship Thames,

Resolved that He do deliver the Investment to Daddy Parsee[32] to be disposed of for Ready Money, and that he be empowered to charge Ten Per Cent. in addition to the Prime Cost as Agency for the Sale.

Resolved that the Secretary do procure Bill for these Seeds and transmit it to Messrs. Ronalds and Sons in Payment.

Potatoes.

Letters from Messrs. Forbes and Mylius reporting the Progress of the Plantation are read.

32. Daddy Parsee kept a general secondhand shop at No. 4, King Street.

His Excellency the Governor proposes Lieut.-Col. Churchill as Member of the Society.

Ordered that Lieut.-Col. Churchill be ballotted for at the next General Meeting.

This being the month in which the Annual Subscriptions are collected, Resolved that Mr. Granville, the Treasurer, be furnished with a List of the Subscribers and requested to undertake it.

The Meeting is adjourned.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Monday the Sixteenth August 1824.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard.
Doctor Farrell
The Rev. Andrew Armour.
Henry Matthews, Esqre.
Lieut.-Col. Walker.
Captn. Gascoyne.

The Meeting proposes (*sic*) to ballot for the election of Lieut.-Col. Churchill as a Member.

The Society (*sic*) reports the following Members having withdrawn themselves from the Society.

Major Delatre	Hospital Assistant Knox
Surgeon Armstrong	Henry Wright, Esqre.

Statues and Inscriptions from Batticaloa.

The Secretary reads a letter from J. N. Mooyaart, Esqr., at Batticaloa enclosing Copies of inscriptions found by him among some Ruins in that Province, and reporting his having sent two mutilated Statues, and two other Stones bearing Inscriptions.

Resolved that the thanks of the Institution be communicated to Mr. Mooyaart.

Moon's Botany.

The Secretary presents Copy of Mr. Moon's Botanical work.[33] Resolved that the Secretary do remit the Amount of it.

Potatoes.

Resolved that the principal part of the Potatoes about to be dug up at Fort Macdonald be sent to Colombo.

33. The copy in the Peradeniya Library bears the date of publication in Moon's handwriting. The writing is unfortunately blurred, but it appears to be June 4th, 1824.

The ballot being ended, Colonel Churchill is declared duly elected.

The Meeting is adjourned.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Saturday the Sixteenth October, 1824.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard.

Doctor Farrell.

Captn. Gascoyne.

Inscriptions and Hot Spring at Batticaloa.

The Secretary lays before the Meeting a Letter from Mr. Mooyaart with Copies of Inscriptions found in the District of Batticaloa, and a Drawing, and Specimens of the Earth in the vicinity of a hot spring discovered by him.

Onions.

The Secretary also produces a Specimen of Bombay Onions grown from Seed at Fort MacDonald.

The Meeting is adjourned.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Monday the Fifteenth day of November, 1824.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard

The Hon'ble Sir Richard Ottley

The Revd. Andrew Armour.

The Revd. J. H. De Saram

C. A. Prins, Esqre.

On this day no business was transacted owing to the absence of the Secretary at Kandy.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Wednesday the Fifteenth December, 1824.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard, Knt., L.L.D.

Charles Farrell, Esq., M.D.

William Granville, Esq.

The Reverend Andrew Armour.

Captn. Thomas B. Gascoyne.

Red Ants and Caterpillars.

Sir Hardinge Giffard presents a Paper containing observations on the destruction of Caterpillars by a certain species of Red Ants.

Potatoes.

The Secretary having notified that Lieut. Forbes, 45th Regt. and Lieut. Mylius, Ceylon Regiment, have been relieved at their stations at Maturatta and Fort MacDonald, It is resolved that the thanks of the Society be communicated to them for the assistance they gave in the formation and culture of the Potato Plantations.

Import of Seeds.

There having been Seven Tin Cases of the last Investment of English Seeds remaining and not likely to be disposed of, the Secretary is desired to make a present of them to Mr. Moon, to dispose of to the best advantage he can.[34]

Potatoes.

The Secretary reads a Letter from Lieut. Mylius, Ceylon Regiment, dated the 12th November containing an account of the flourishing state in which he was about to give over the Garden at Fort MacDonald, and it is resolved that the thanks of the Society for this communication be added to the preceding one voted to him at this Meeting.

The Meeting is adjourned.

34. The import of European vegetable seeds was undertaken by the Royal Botanic Gardens when Gardner was superintendent, but met with no greater success, and was abandoned by Thwaites in 1850.

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